

NEW DICTIONARY OF
SOUTH AFRICAN
BIOGRAPHY



EDITED BY E. J. VERWEY
FOREWORD BY NELSON MANDELA

NEW
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OF
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BIOGRAPHY

VOLUME 1

This One



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Edited by
E.J. Verwey

Foreword by Nelson R. Mandela

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Pretoria
1995

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FOREWORD

It is of great significance that this first volume in the series *New dictionary of South African biography (NDSAB)* will appear soon after the first democratically elected South African government assumes power. Through this series it will be possible to both record and commemorate the role of the many hitherto unclaimed people whose past work and struggle have contributed so much to the future of our nation.

Knowledge of our past deepens our wisdom to plan our future. But history is not created in books. It is a record of human endeavour. It is, therefore, vital that the lives of all the South Africans who have made some contribution to our rich heritage, whether they were politicians, educators, scientists or workers, be brought to the fore. In this way they become part of that most valuable of resources: information and collected wisdom which is fundamental to the empowerment of both the learned and the learner.

Africa and its past are intensively researched in overseas countries. Numerous biographical dictionaries and encyclopaedias that cover Africa as a whole have been published. It would have been a sad reflection on the abilities and commitment of our historians and academics if a reference work of this nature were to have originated abroad.

We as South Africans best know the background and subtleties of our people. It is therefore fitting that South Africans themselves should be the compilers and researchers of their own achievements and frustrations.

A series such as this rescues unsung heroes from oblivion and restores them as role models for our future endeavours. At the same time through thorough research and the test of proven research methodology, it is possible to present their full humanity and save them from being mythologized.

This series is the only biographical record on our continent that concentrates on the people of a single country. These are the people on whose shoulders we stand.

Nelson R. Mandela
President of the Republic of South Africa
September 1994

INTRODUCTION

When the first volume of the *Dictionary of South African biography* (*DSAB*) was published in 1968, the then editor-in-chief Prof. W.J. de Kock gave the reason for the publication—a need for a work of reference presenting the life histories of people who have made a meaningful contribution to the course of South African history. At that time the objective of the editorial board was to publish a series of biographies of persons who died before the end of 1950, and to deal in a following series with persons who died later. Mainly for logistical reasons it was impossible to keep to the original planning. The third of the five volumes of the *DSAB* already included people who died after 1950, and by the time the last volume was published, people who died before the end of 1982 were being considered for inclusion. By moving the inclusion date forward from time to time, the series could be continued indefinitely—with the inherent danger of postponing important but demanding pre-1950 biographies in favour of more recent and less taxing ones.

The decision to terminate the *DSAB* after the publication of Volume V in 1987 (at that stage 4 518 biographies had been published) and to embark on the *New dictionary of South African biography* (*NDSAB*) was taken for two reasons—firstly, to adapt to changes in the external environment that seriously reduced the resources available for the continuation of the programme (in fact, threatened its very survival). Secondly, there was a need to reconsider the programme and correct some imbalances. The *NDSAB* is, however, complementary to the former series. To assist the reader, a cumulative index to Volumes I to V of the *DSAB* is included in the *NDSAB I*.

The most visible change is in the format. Compared to the average of 900 biographies per volume of the *DSAB*, the first volume of the *NDSAB* carries only 129. The layout is also less formidable, and every biography has been illustrated except for those for which no photograph or illustration could be traced, or those for which the illustration material did exist but for which the owners set exorbitant demands. This latter constraint, incidentally, makes a mockery of the much-desired principle of free access to information.

Readers who are familiar with the *DSAB* will also immediately notice the tendency to move away from leaders of the male-dominated white establishment towards extra-parliamentary political leaders who paved the way for broad democratic reform, leaders in all spheres of the marginalized communities, and women who significantly influenced an essentially male-dominated world. A special niche was reserved for people who received international acclaim, or

who were pioneers in some way or another. For reasons of historical balance a number of people in leadership positions from the pre-democratic era have also been included. Most of the biographies are approximately of equal length and a deliberate attempt was made to steer away from biographical detail, focusing rather on those aspects of a person's life that constituted a significant contribution to history. The editor strove to maintain stylistic consistency. To avoid incorrect use, prefixes such as 'ama-' or 'ba-' were avoided. In some cases the orthography of the previous series was adhered to: the spelling of names such as 'Sefunêlo' was retained. A special effort was made to remain consistent when repeatedly capturing the same events relative to different political figures. The danger of a boring style had to be braved for the sake of accuracy.

Avid readers of the *DSAB* have waited patiently for this volume. On their behalf and that of the management of the Human Sciences Research Council, I would like to express our sincere appreciation to Elizabeth Verwey who, as editor, so ably guided this first volume of the *New dictionary of South African biography* through all its phases.

On behalf of the editor I would like to thank the following persons for the role they played in producing this volume:

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Arie Oberholster
Executive Director
Group: Social Dynamics
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ABBREVIATIONS AND LEGENDS

- fl.* = *floruit*, used to indicate the period when the person flourished when the exact dates of birth and death could not be established
- c.* = *circa*, used to indicate approximate dates
- s.l.* = *sine loco*, place of publication not given
- * † = used to indicate birth and death respectively
(e.g., *Cairo, Egypt, 30 August 1895—†Grahamstown, 16 June 1984)
- * = following the name or surname of a person in the text of an article, the asterisk indicates that a biography on this person has been published either in one of the five volumes of the *Dictionary of South African biography* (e.g., J.C. Smuts*), or in volume one of the *New dictionary of South African biography* (e.g., Z.R. Mahabane*)

A

AFRIKANER, Jager (Hôa-/arab/) (*Roode Zand (Tulbagh), c.1769—†Vredenberg, in the present-day Namibia, c. July 1822), chief of the Afrikaner-Oorlams and the son of Klaas Afrikaner. ('Oorlams' is derived from the Malay word 'orang lama' meaning 'old person' but 'one who is wise in the ways of the world'. The Oorlam Khoi were so called for their expertise in the handling of horses and firearms. They spoke Cape Dutch and included escaped slaves.)



Klaas apparently was an independent cattle farmer in the Witzenberg in the Tulbagh district where he became acquainted with an enterprising farmer Petrus Pienaar*. It is not clear what his relationship with Pienaar was but he later moved with

his relatives to Pienaar's farm.

Members of the Afrikaner household often accompanied Pienaar on his hunting trips and travels into the interior—there is evidence, however, that Pienaar rustled cattle from tribes in the interior on these trips. In time they knew the interior up to the Orange River well. They became adept in the use of guns and horse-riding.

In 1790 Klaas Afrikaner, his sons and a few other related Afrikaner families moved with Pienaar to the Hantam (a region on a high plateau in the Calvinia district) where he settled on the loan farm Groot Vlakke. Because of their shrewdness Pienaar included the Afrikaners on punitive expeditions against San cattle rustlers. However, there are allegations that these expeditions were in fact raids on Khoikhoi and Nama tribes in the interior.

In 1795 Jager succeeded his father as chief. He was still in his early twenties and known for his bravery and competence. It would appear that the Afrikaners lost their independent status after 1793 and became herders on Pienaar's loan farm. As tension between the whites and the Khoikhoi increased, the Afrikaner-Oorlams also started resisting Pienaar's master-servant attitude towards them. This came to a head with the killing of Pienaar in March 1796 after a quarrel—possibly over wages or Pienaar's alleged seduction of Afrikaner women. The Afrikaners fled to the Middle Orange River where they lived on the river islands. From their safe river hide-out Jager led raids on the tribes in the surrounding areas. Soon everyone in a radius of 400 km lived in

fear of him. His followers increased to more than 100 when some Nama and Korana joined him. In 1799 the acting governor of the Cape Colony, H. Dundas*, outlawed Jager after a raid into the Colony and the killing of a white farmer and rustling of his cattle. Because of Jager's military expertise, the unwillingness of the cattle farmers to take part in punitive expeditions, and probably his elusiveness, he was left unpunished.

As a safety measure against the raids of the Afrikaner-Oorlams, some of the Basters (or Bastaards—an eighteenth century term for frontiersmen of mixed race) amalgamated to form the Griqua. In this sense Jager was instrumental in bringing together the Griqua.

In about 1803 Jager and his followers left their hide-out at the Orange River and travelled a day's journey on horseback to the north, where they settled at Blydeverwacht or Blyde Verwachting in the present-day Namibia. This marked the beginning of the migration of the Oorlams from the Cape Colony to Namibia, which led to the establishment of Cape Dutch as language in the region north of the Orange River.

In January 1806 the brothers Albrecht, missionaries of the Berlin Missionary Society, moved into Jager's territory. By this time Jager had apparently tired of his outlaw life which had to a great extent been forced on the Afrikaners after the final showdown with Petrus Pienaar. Jager was envious of the respectability and stable communities of other leaders such as the Koks*. These leaders all had missionaries staying with them and Jager hoped to achieve some measure of respectability by also allowing missionaries into his territory. He therefore permitted the Albrechts to minister to them—the children received schooling and religious instruction while he and his brother Hendrik attended the services of the missionaries. When the missionaries moved to Warmbad (in Namibia) in October 1806, Jager followed them. However, the Bondelswarts who resided there, did not trust the Afrikaners and requested them to leave. The Afrikaners then settled at Afrikanerskraal, just east of Warmbad.

This first attempt of Jager to live in peace and achieve some stability came to an end towards the end of 1810. In retaliation for the illegal sale of some of his cattle, Jager attacked and plundered the mission station of the London Missionary Society at Pella. When he also threatened to attack Warmbad, the missionaries returned to the Cape Colony. By the middle of 1811 Jager had resumed to his previous way of life—raiding and plundering. This lasted till the arrival of a German missionary, Johannes Ebner, at Afrikanerskraal on 10 June 1815. Shortly afterwards, on 23 July 1815, Jager and his brothers Hendrik and Andreas were among the first eight people to be baptized. In deference to the missionary Christiaan Albrecht, Jager accepted the name Christiaan and his brother Hendrik the name Dawid—though these name changes probably only occurred later, under the influence of Robert Moffat*.

In January 1818 Robert Moffat of the London Missionary Society joined Ebner who shortly afterwards left Afrikanerskraal. Under Moffat's influence Jager now also learnt to read and write, and encouraged education among his people. The Afrikaner-Oorlams ceased their periodic raids and engaged in hunting and trading. In February 1819 Jager and Moffat travelled to the Cape to request Governor Lord Charles Somerset* to set aside the outlawry.

Moffat now moved to Lattakoo (Dithakong) (about 66 km northeast of Kuruman) as he was assigned mission work among the Tswana, and in June 1820 Jager took Moffat's cattle and possessions to him at Lattakoo. This meant that the Afrikaner-Oorlams were without a missionary for the first time since their conversion, and that Jager had to act as political and church leader, as well as teacher.

In July 1822 Klaas, Jager's father, died and a week later Jager himself died. Shortly before his death he named his second eldest son, Jonker Afrikaner*, as his successor.

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AGAR-HAMILTON, John August Ion (*Cairo, Egypt, 30 August 1895—



†Grahamstown, 16 June 1984), historian and Anglican priest. He was of Scottish descent and arrived with his parents, John August and Ada Agar-Hamilton, in South Africa in 1906. He was educated at Pretoria Boys' High School where he matriculated in 1911. After that he studied for a B.A. degree at the Transvaal University College (University of Pretoria), graduating in 1914. All sources refer to Agar-Hamilton as having an M.A. degree but it is not clear which university he graduated from. Some sources indicate that he studied at the University of the Cape of Good Hope (University of South Africa), while it is also known that he studied at Keble

College at Oxford—though it is not clear when he left South Africa. Sources also differ as to what he studied at Oxford. It is possible that he held masters degrees from both the universities.

Agar-Hamilton returned to South Africa in 1923 and was a senior lecturer in history at the University of Pretoria until 1940. In 1941 he was appointed officer-commanding military history records with the rank of lieutenant-colonel.

After the Second World War he became editor-in-chief of the *Union war histories*, a position he held until the war histories were disbanded in 1959. He was ordained as an Anglican deacon in 1955 and served as a curate (probably nonstipendiary, i.e. part-time) at the St Alban's Cathedral in Pretoria. In 1960 Agar-Hamilton was appointed to the staff of the History Department at Rhodes University in Grahamstown and warden of Matthew's House, one of the university residences. In the same year he was ordained as an Anglican priest. On the death of Prof. Raymond Burrows in October 1960, Agar-Hamilton was appointed director of the Rhodes University Institute of Social and Economic Research, a post he held until his retirement in 1966. He became the first honorary Fellow of the institute and stayed on as warden of Matthew's House. In recognition of his contribution to South African military and official history, Rhodes University conferred on Agar-Hamilton an honorary D.Litt. degree in April 1967.

After his retirement from academic life, Agar-Hamilton served the Anglican Church as the editor of the church directory and yearbook from 1967 to 1969. From 1969 to 1979 he was a priest in the parish of Christ Church in Grahamstown. In 1980 he retired from the priesthood.

Agar-Hamilton came under the influence of George Cory* and was convinced, early in his career, of the need for 'scientific methods of research'. He also appears to have been an exponent of the early British and Settler historiographical school (Cory being a major proponent) suggesting that "... the history of this country only became interesting after the British came into it". Being pro-British, he tended to look on nineteenth century Afrikaner institutions as inferior to British institutions, doubting if it was possible for any type of government by the Voortrekkers (Afrikaners) to have existed north of the Vaal River between 1840 and 1850. He was opposed to Afrikaner Nationalism and wanted to articulate his opposition but believed that doing so was "... not as much as my job was worth".

The publication of his book entitled *The native policy of the Voortrekkers: an essay in the history of the interior of South Africa, 1836-1858* (London, 1928) created a great deal of interest. Many leading national newspapers, including the *Pretoria News*, *The Cape Times*, *Die Burger* and *The Rand Daily Mail*, ran articles on this publication. Agar-Hamilton disagreed with W.M. Macmillan's* views on Dr John Philip* and acquitted the Transvaal government of practising slavery—two issues relevant in South African historiographical debate at the time. He nevertheless blamed the Transvaal government for their shameless exploitation of and disregard for "... the fundamental rights of the native people". He stated that if the Transvaal government could not contain the criminal white elements in their area "... it clearly forfeited its right to be regarded as a civilised state".

Though under the influence of Cory in his early writings, his attacks on the Afrikaners and defence of the indigenous populations suggest that, for most of his professional career, he was part of the liberal historiographical tradition. It has, however, been noted by some historians that the writing of the war histories prevented Agar-Hamilton from contributing to the further development of a Africanist methodology or conceptualization.

Agar-Hamilton was a prolific researcher and writer and published widely throughout his career. Apart from the publications listed in *South African history and historians: a bibliography* (1979) he also published *Pretoria centenary album: Pretoria's first centenary in illustration; These men shaped your world* (1961); and *Border port: a study of East London* (1970). Agar-Hamilton also contributed articles to the *Dictionary of South African biography* and the *Standard encyclopaedia of Southern Africa*.

Agar-Hamilton is best known for his contribution to the *Union war histories*. In the citation for an honorary degree at Rhodes University the orator stated that he produced "... one of the best and most objective of all military histories—and the best of official histories".

In addition to his research and writing, Agar-Hamilton also did a great deal of broadcasting both in South Africa and Britain. He was commissioned to do a series of talks to mark the Union jubilee in 1960.

He was well liked by his peers and highly respected professionally. He never married.

Master of the Supreme Court, Grahamstown: Estate no. 1663/84; — Cory Library for Historical Research, Rhodes University, Grahamstown: Sir G.E. Cory collection: letters from Agar-Hamilton, MS 1433-MS 1434, MS 1877, MS 1912; W.A. Maxwell collection: MS 14 347; V.S. Forbes press cuttings: MS 17 202; J.A.I. Agar-Hamilton collection: unaccessioned; — UNIVERSITY OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, *The calendar, 1917-1918*. Cape Town, 1917; — UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA, *The calendar, 1921-1929*. Pretoria, 1921-1929; — *Die Burger*, 26 May 1928; — *Pretoria News*, 14 June 1928; — *The Cape Times*, 2 July 1928; — *The Heidelberg News*, 3 August 1928; — *South African church year book and clerical directory, 1957-8*. Durban, [1958]; — *Crockford's clerical directory: a reference book of the clergy of the Provinces of Canterbury and York and of other Anglican Provinces and Diocese, 1957/58-1959/60; 1963/64-1965/66; 1969/70-1975/76; 1980/82*; — *Evening Post*, 13 February 1960; — *The Daily Dispatch*, 2 June 1961; — RHODES UNIVERSITY. INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RESEARCH, *Annual reports, 1960-1983*. Grahamstown, 1961-1984; — Obituaries: *The Citizen*, 20 June 1984; *Suid-Afrikaanse oorsig*, 29 June 1984.

ANDRESEN, Hans Olaf Waldemar Rüdiger Emmerich Felix Januarius



(Olaf) (*Berlin, Germany, 14 January 1902— †Kempton Park, 19 December 1985), composer, mainly of light music, was the son of Waldemar and Anna Andresen.

Already as a child Andresen showed musical talent. He studied at the music conservatory of H. and P. Heller in Berlin and received tuition in violin, musical theory and composition. At the age of fourteen he made his debut as violinist. He interrupted his studies to take part in the First World War (1914-1918). In 1920 he started a world tour during which he gave performances, composed music and became acquainted with other musicians.

His source of income, however, was his work as accountant—he wrote an

accountancy examination in California, United States of America. The last country he visited was South Africa. In 1926 he was back in Germany, but speedily returned to Venezuela where he was a member of a dance band. In 1931, during the depression, he returned to Germany, but left for South Africa in the same year. Here he covered long distances on foot since he could not afford travel expenses. He made a living as an insurance agent. Eventually he settled in Vryheid, Natal, where he met Marthel Dittrich, whom he was later to marry.

At the outbreak of the Second World War (1939–1945) Andresen was interned in the Leeukop camp because of his German nationality. After eight months he escaped and the following eleven months he was on the run. During this time he composed 22 marches and battle songs for the Ossewa-Brandwag under the pseudonym Andries Cilliers. These compositions were published in 1941 in Johannesburg as the *Ossewa-Brandwagbundel*.

He and his fiancée, Marthel, fled to Lourenço Marques (Maputo) in Portuguese East Africa (Mozambique) in 1942. Andresen was allowed to stay there, probably because he had a German passport, but Marthel was sent back to South Africa where she had to serve a prison sentence for her political affiliations. They were married in 1946 in Lourenço Marques, but could only return to Johannesburg in 1948, after the election victory of the National Party.

In Johannesburg Andresen became a professional composer. He established his own printing and publishing company, the Melotoongolwe Musiekuitgewers (music publishers). Here he printed and distributed his own compositions and even cut and sold his own gramophone records for several years.

Andresen composed nearly 400 works. This included three operettas in Afrikaans: *Die heidenooientjie*, *Die drie astertjies* and *Die mieliefetejie*. He composed dancing music too, a symphony, and marches adapted for military orchestra by Charles Donne. Out of appreciation for his contribution to music Andresen was appointed honorary colonel of the Regiment East Rand of the South African Defence Force in 1969. Most of his compositions, however, were songs. In 1932 Andresen composed his most famous song, 'Heidelied'. His inspiration for it stemmed from a hike in the Western Province. The band of Hendrik Susan* performed the song for the first time in 1949 and in that same year it was used during the inauguration of the Voortrekker Monument. It became renowned in New Jersey (USA), as well as in Lüneburg (Germany) where the inhabitants invited Andresen and his wife in 1956 to visit the city during its millenary. During this visit the song was proclaimed Song of the Year. The South African Army used it in an adapted form as a march. It was also the theme song in the film *Hoor my lied*. In the film *Krugermiljoene* other well-known songs of Andresen were sung by Gé Korsten, like 'My hart verlang na die Boland'. Andresen wrote the words for most of his compositions himself, and since he had command of several languages, he published most of his songs in more than one language.

Since 1964 Andresen's health deteriorated; nevertheless, he continued composing. In 1978 he wrote his last composition, an Italian concerto for piano and violin.

Andresen first married Johanna Beer. After he had divorced her, he married

Marthel (Martha) Dittrich. He was the father of a son and two daughters.

Master of the Supreme Court, Pretoria: Estate no. 791/86; — Radio Sound Archives, SABC, Johannesburg: Record of tribute to Olaf Andresen; — *Agter trailies en doringdraad*. Pretoria, 1953; — *Ster*, 24 January 1975; — *Afrikaanse kultuur Almanak*. Johannesburg, 1980; — J.P. MALAN (ed.), *South African music encyclopedia, I*. Cape Town, 1979; — C. MARÉ, Geliefde Olaf Andresen word 81 jaar oud! *Kempton Express*, 19 January 1983; — Obituary: *Kempton Express*, 7 January 1986; — Private information: Mrs Marthel Andresen (wife), Kempton Park.

ARNDT, Ruth Elizabeth (*Toronto, Canada, 2 June 1890—†Pretoria, 8 September 1982), pre-school educationist, was the daughter of Francis Stephens Spence.



She studied at the Victoria College of the University of Toronto from 1909 to 1913 and obtained her B.A. degree in 1913. The following year she qualified as high school assistant and specialist in moderns and history. From 1921 she studied at the Teachers College of Columbia University, New York, and in 1924 the Ph.D. degree in education was conferred on her for her thesis *Theory of education as growth, as formulated by John Dewey*. Until the middle of 1926, when she left for South Africa to marry a fellow student from Columbia

University, E.H.D. Arndt, she was assistant professor in educational psychology at Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts.

Arndt's career in South Africa reflects the influence of two persons in particular. She idolized her father, a reformer who had devoted his life to public service and, secondly, she was imbued with the philosophy and teaching of John Dewey, professor in philosophy during her stay at Columbia University.

Her professional career in South Africa began in 1929 when she held two relieving appointments at the Pretoria Normal College (Pretoria Teachers' Training College). In the same year the Transvaal University College (University of Pretoria) opened its Child Guidance Clinic, followed by the establishment of the School of Social Work. This progressive move and her close contact with the head of the clinic, Dr Marie te Water, gave her much satisfaction and encouragement.

In 1930 she returned to Canada for more than a year to study nursery school education. A Laura Spellman (Rockefeller) Travelling Fellowship enabled her to visit the leading training centres in the USA and Canada. Back in South Africa she interested herself in providing facilities for pre-school education in Pretoria, and later virtually became the founder of the nursery school movement in South Africa. The long struggle to gain recognition for pre-school education from government departments and municipalities was ultimately won due to her persistence. Her broad theoretical and academic background ensured that pre-school teaching in South Africa had its roots in

sound educational principles. Arndt was a foundation member of the Nursery School Association of South Africa (Southern African Association for Early Childhood Education, later renamed the Southern African Association for Early Childhood Educare), and served as honorary secretary, chairperson, president and honorary life president. Her presidential addresses to the association delivered from 1940 to 1975, were published in 1977.

One seldom finds in one person such a scholarly philosophic background, practical insight and tenacity. That there are today hundreds of institutions catering for the education of thousands of pre-school children of all races in South Africa is a tribute to her. In 1975 she received an honorary doctorate in education from the University of South Africa. The Good Hope Nursery School of which Arndt was a founder member was renamed the Ruth Arndt Early Learning Centre (a crèche-cum-nursery school in Schubart Street, Pretoria) in living memory of this pioneer of infant care and education in South Africa.

A son and a daughter were born of her marriage to E.H.D. Arndt, professor of economics at the University of Pretoria, vice-president of the Reserve Bank, a director of the Land Bank and chairperson of the Decimalization Board.

Master of the Supreme Court, Pretoria: Estate no. 13801/82; — *Honoris causa*: R.E. Arndt, Unisa, 1975; — Obituaries: *Hoofstad*, 9 September 1982; *Pretoria News*, 9 September 1982; *Transvaler*, 9 September 1982; — Tribute: Eulogy by P. Reilly, Chairman of the Southern African Association for Early Childhood Education, September 1982; Ruth Arndt Memorial lecture by J.R. van Heerden, President of the Southern African Association for Early Childhood Education, 1987.

ASCHENBORN, Hans Jürgen (*Windhoek, South West Africa (Namibia), 19



August 1920—†Pretoria, 3 October 1986), librarian, the son of Hans Anton Aschenborn*, an artist and author, and his wife Emmy Bredow.

Aschenborn's father decided to return to Germany (some sources state 1921) for economic reasons. Shortly after his father's death in 1931, Aschenborn's mother returned to South Africa with her children and settled on a farm called Bronhöft in the Potgietersrus district. Aschenborn received his schooling at the Deutsche Schule in Windhoek, passing his *Abitur* (matriculation) in 1939. He was interned from 1942 to 1945, during the Second World War (1939–1945), because of his German connections. After his release he was persuaded by Prof. P.C. Coetzee, who was the head of the library of the University of Pretoria at that time, to continue his studies instead of going to Germany to help with the reconstruction of that country after the war. Aschenborn studied through the University of South Africa (Unisa) and obtained a B.A. in 1950 and the Higher Diploma in Librarianship in 1952. In 1957 he obtained a M.A. degree and in 1966 a doctorate for a dissertation on *De Staatsbibliotheek der Zuid-Afrikaan-*

sche Republiek (The State Library of the Transvaal Republic) was conferred on him.

A part-time student, Aschenborn was in the employ of the Merensky Library at the University of Pretoria from 1947 to 1949. In 1949 he joined the Transvaal Provincial Library service where he worked until 1951 when he returned to the Merensky Library. Concurrently, from 1953 to 1961, he was a lecturer in librarianship at the University of Pretoria. In 1959 he was appointed deputy director of the State Library and in 1965 became director—a post he held until his death.

Some of the highlights in his career as director of the State Library were: the creation of the Unicat (a joint catalogue arranged according to the International Standard Book Number (ISBN)); the computerization and microfilming of the Joint Catalogue of Books; the publishing and computerization of the *SANB: South African national bibliography*; the commencement of the microfilming of South African newspapers; the creation of the *Government Gazette index* (GGI); and the publication of the *RSANB: retrospective South African national bibliography*. Aschenborn was involved in the drafting of the Legal Deposit of Publications Act of 1982 and the National Libraries Act of 1985. Under the direction of Aschenborn, the State Library started an extensive publication programme which resulted in the reprint series (for example *Llongland's Pretoria directory for 1899* and *Verrichtinge van het Onderwyscongress gehoude te Germiston [1899]*) and the bibliographical series (such as *German Africana* and *Bibliography of reprography*).

Aschenborn played a leading role in South African librarianship. He served on the National Library Advisory Council and later on the National Advisory Council for Libraries and Information Science. He played an active role in the South African Institute for Librarianship and Information Science (Sailis) as council member, chairperson of the Committee for Bibliographic Control and the Technical Standards Committee. Aschenborn was also involved in Sabinet (South African Bibliographic and Information Network), the Microfilm Association of the RSA (Marsa) and the Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns (South African Academy for Arts and Science).

Several of his scholarly articles which were published in local and overseas journals gained South African librarianship international recognition. Furthermore, in his professional career he attended approximately 65 international conferences, including several of the International Federation for Library Associations and Institutions (IFLA). He played an important role in the International Organization for Standardization (ISO) and was chairperson of three working groups, namely the Working Group for Microfiche Standards, the Working Group for Microfilming of Newspapers and the Working Group on Book Production Statistics. He also was a member of the Conference of Directors of National Libraries.

In 1967 the Canadian Council awarded Aschenborn the John Harvey Medal, and in 1975 he became honorary Fellow of the International Information Management Congress. In 1970 he received the *socius* membership of the South African Library Association (now Sailis) and in 1985 was awarded the Sailis Award for Bibliography. State President P.W. Botha awarded Aschen-

born the Order for Meritorious Service Silver posthumously in 1988.

In 1956 Aschenborn moved to a smallholding near Kameeldrif, northeast of Pretoria, designing and building the house himself. Interested in art, especially typography and graphic art, he tried to have his father's work reprinted. He was also a well-known breeder of arab horses. His motto was 'Und immer siegt die Liebe' (Love will always conquer).

Aschenborn married Helga-Christa Hermenau on 17 April 1947. They had a son and three daughters.

Obituaries: *Pretoria News*, 4 October 1986; Dr Hans Aschenborn oorlede. *Sailis newsletter*, 6(11), November 1986; — J.A. BOON, P.J. LOR & K.P. PRINSLOO, *National libraries: some South African and international perspectives on challenges and opportunities: a tribute to H.J. Aschenborn at sixty-five*. Pretoria, 1986; — Hans Jürgen Aschenborn: a tribute, 1920-1986. *Informat*, 2(5/6) 1986; — Dr Hans Aschenborn posthumously awarded. *Sailis newsletter*, 8(7), July 1988.

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BALOYI, Richard Granville (*Pietersburg district, c.1897—†Alexandra, in the present-day Sandton district, 5 October 1962), politician and businessman, a son of Marcus and Rosie Baloyi. Very little is known about his early life.



Baloyi moved to Alexandra north of Johannesburg in 1922. His first job was that of a taxi driver but in 1925 he became a taxi owner. In 1927 he purchased his first buses and shortly afterwards he and other bus owners founded the Alexandra Bus Owners' Association. The buses travelled regularly between Johannesburg and Alexandra and met the demand for cheap transport. However, this brought them into competition with bus companies controlled by whites. By 1940 the Alexandra Bus Owners' Association was forced out of the market by a combination of legislation to entrench the position of South African Railways and competition from the better funded white-owned operations.

Baloyi was often involved in disputes concerning bus fares to and from Alexandra. Between 1939 and 1940 he apparently opposed the lowering of bus fares, though he claimed that he was fending for the inhabitants of Alexandra. When in August 1943 the bus fare was increased and the inhabitants of Alexandra started a general bus boycott, Baloyi was a member of the Emergency Transport Committee who negotiated with the bus company for the lowering of the fare to the original.

As community leader of Alexandra Baloyi also served on the local health committee. In the 1940s local white interests began to threaten the right to freehold in Sophiatown and Alexandra and by 1943 Baloyi was chairperson of the Alexandra Anti-Expropriation Committee—a committee trying to protect the interests of African entrepreneurs of Alexandra. On his letterhead Baloyi identified himself as the managing director of the Alexandra Land Industrial and Investment Company (an estate agency) and director of the Rustenburg Bus Service Pty Ltd. He was president of the Bantu Sports Club and a prominent member of the Bantu Methodist Church.

Baloyi seems to have had a reputation as a controversial figure—as was the case with the bus fare dispute in 1939–1940. His controversiality came to a

head in 1945 when it became known that he was a member of a deputation to Cape Town to discuss the possible incorporation of Alexandra into Johannesburg with members of parliament. This was deemed an act of treason by the Alexandra inhabitants and at a mass meeting in the township the following resolution was accepted: "Mr R.G. Baloyi of this Township shall be no more a leader of any class of the African people of this Township until he dies."

His political career started in about 1937 when he was elected to the Native Representative Council (NRC) and together with other NRC members contributed to reviving interest in the declining African National Congress (ANC). The councillors travelled widely and used their position to arouse interest in the ANC. Baloyi remained a councillor until 1942. In 1938 he was elected treasurer-general of the ANC. In the same year he was elected vice-president of the Non-European United Front which came into existence when the South African Communist Party (SACP), the National Liberation League, the ANC and other groups joined forces in an effort to establish a broad and powerful national movement co-ordinating all protest actions by blacks. The front, however, did not exist for very long—by 1942 the ANC withdrew its support, while coloured members preferred to establish their own organization.

In May 1939 Baloyi was a member of the ANC deputation to Cape Town who met with the Minister of Native Affairs and the parliamentary representatives of the Africans. On this occasion Baloyi asked for one identification document—instead of several different passes as was the case then—and warned that the pass laws made criminals of the people. He also asked for the recognition of traditional chiefs.

In 1943 he was a member of the Atlantic Charter Committee of the ANC which had to study and discuss problems arising out of the Atlantic Charter in so far as it related to Africa. (The charter had originally been drawn up by Great Britain and the United States of America in 1941 as a "blueprint for future peace and security" and emphasized the maintenance of human rights.) The committee had to draw up a statement on the charter "from the standpoint of the Africans within the Union of South Africa" (called the *African Claims*), and draft a Bill of Rights. From 1944 Baloyi was one of the leaders of the anti-pass campaign. In 1948 Baloyi was one of the ANC delegates to negotiations with the All-African Convention (a national organization originally founded in the 1930s to protest the downgrading of the African franchise). The ANC hoped to achieve closer unity between the two organizations and to overcome rivalry. These talks failed. In January 1949 riots broke out between Africans and Indians in Durban. This led to a meeting between representatives of the ANC (with Baloyi one of the delegates), the South African Indian Congress and other African and Indian leaders in Durban on 6 February 1949.

Baloyi's position within the ANC became increasingly controversial. At the ANC annual conference in December 1947 his financial report as treasurer-general was rejected because it had not been audited. The following year he did not attend the conference and an acting treasurer was appointed. At that stage he was regarded with suspicion because of his support for a National Party candidate for Senate—his membership of the Transvaal branch of the ANC was in fact suspended for three years. He appealed against the suspension and at the

annual conference in December 1949 it was lifted. In view of this and the fact that he had neglected his duties as treasurer, he was not re-elected as treasurer-general. However, he was elected to the national executive committee, but his former prominent political role was largely over.

From 1952 he increasingly identified with the National Minded Bloc in the ANC—a conservative faction predominantly consisting of relatively wealthy businessmen which opposed the co-operation of the ANC with the SACP and the alleged communist influence on the ANC.

Baloyi was married to Elizabeth Baloyi and though his death certificate indicates that he had no children, he named a son as executor, and probably also had three daughters.

Transvaal Archives, Pretoria: Estate no. 503/63; — Library of the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg: Xuma collection; — Busy Body RG, *Drum*, March 1953; — C.M. DE VILLIERS, *Die African National Congress en sy aktiwiteite aan die Witwatersrand, 1912-1956*. M.A. thesis. University of Pretoria, 1965; — P. WALSH, *The rise of African Nationalism in South Africa: the African National Congress, 1912-1952*. London, 1970; — T. KARIS & G.M. CARTER (eds), *From protest to challenge: a documentary history of African politics in South Africa, 1882-1964*. 2. *Hope and challenge*. Stanford, 1973; — T. KARIS & G.M. CARTER (eds), *From protest to challenge: a documentary history of African politics in South Africa, 1882-1964*. 4. *Political profiles, 1882-1964*. Stanford, 1977; — T. LODGE, *Black politics in South Africa since 1945*. Johannesburg, 1983; — B. HIRSON, *Yours for the Union: class and community struggles in South Africa, 1930-1947*. Johannesburg, 1990.

BARMANIA, Mahomed Dawood (*Pietermaritzburg, 21 April 1895—†Cape Town, 10 February 1971), businessman, politician and community worker. He was the son of Dawood Barmania, owner of commercial and farming properties in both Natal and Surat in the west Indian state of Gujarat—Gujarat being the region from which most of South Africa's trader Indians originated.



At the turn of the century, after having been in Natal for some fifteen years, Dawood Barmania returned to India with his family. Barmania later attended City College, Calcutta and the University of Calcutta where an M.A. degree in Economics was conferred on him.

Soon after graduating he returned to South Africa to assist his brother in the management of his father's firm of general dealers at Umzimkulu in Southern Natal. In 1930 he moved to Cape Town where, after a brief spell as a general dealer, he followed a career as business manager and later as financial adviser. He retired in 1969.

Largely as a consequence of his level of education—unusually high by the standards of the time for Indians in South Africa—Barmania was held in considerable esteem by Cape Town's small Indian community. As community leader it was a natural step for him to enter politics by joining, in the mid-1930s, the Cape Indian Congress. Soon afterwards he was elected to represent

the Cape Province on the executive of the South African Indian Congress (SAIC).

As a Muslim businessman Barmania was a representative of a class which had long dominated the politics of the Indian community in South Africa. This domination can be dated back to the arrival of the indentured Indians who were predominantly Hindu, and the arrival of the trader Indians who were predominantly Muslim. The tensions generated by the long-simmering differences between the business class and the predominantly Hindu Indian proletariat were finally brought to a head between 1943 and 1946. The issue which precipitated the confrontation was the nature of the strategy to be pursued in response to the proposals of J.C. Smuts's* government to establish segregated Indian residential areas in Natal and the Transvaal. Instead of rejecting these proposals outright, as the new and populist generation of Indian political leaders in South Africa did, Barmania aligned himself with the SAIC's traditional policy of attempting to find a compromise solution without conceding the principle of segregation. The introduction by the government of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Bill in March 1946 signalled the failure of the SAIC's strategy and, in so doing, totally undermined the credibility of the Congress leadership.

The new Bill resulted in a storm of protest, locally and abroad. The SAIC published a booklet summarizing its objections to the Bill. A representative was granted leave to be heard at the bar of the Senate of the South African Parliament against the provisions of the Bill. As one of the joint secretaries of the SAIC, Barmania addressed the Senate for 50 minutes on 3 May 1946 to explain why the Congress rejected the Bill. In light of the national and international protest against the Bill, it can be surmised that the Senate only agreed to Barmania's appearance at the bar in an attempt to soften international condemnation of the Bill. The significance of Barmania's Senate appearance, the only one by an Indian South African, and one of only two such appearances—the first appearance was in 1914 in protest against the deportation of labour leaders—lies therefore in the realm of novelty rather than substance.

Having lost control of the SAIC in October 1946, the conservative Indian leadership, of whom Barmania remained a member, formed a rival body, the South African Indian Organization. However, the futility of negotiations with the government, especially after the National Party came to power in 1948, led to Barmania's early retirement from national politics.

Barmania nevertheless continued to play an active community role by serving in charitable organizations, the local Mosque committee and the local school board. His services were not limited to the Indian community alone, for in Cape Town, Indians, particularly those who were Muslim, integrated easily with the Malay and coloured population. Upon his death the Cape Town City Council named a road in Crawford after him in recognition of his community work.

While in India Barmania married Ayesha Bibi. A son and two daughters were born of the marriage. After his first wife's death he married Jadija Sirkhotte in Cape Town in 1939. Three daughters and two sons were born of this marriage.

Master of the Supreme Court, Cape Town: Estate no. 4901/71; — *The South African Indian who's who and commercial directory, 1939*. Pietermaritzburg, 1939; — B. PACHAI, *The South African Indian question, 1860-1971*. Cape Town, 1971; — W.P.L. VAN ZYL, Parliament. In: *Standard encyclopaedia of Southern Africa*, 8. Cape Town, 1973; — W.B. WHITE, *The evolution of policy towards the Indians in Natal*. M.A. thesis. University of Natal, 1981; — S. BHANA & B. PACHAI (eds), *A documentary history of Indian South Africans*. Cape Town, 1984; — Private information: Mr A.M. Barmania (son), Cape Town.

BASSA, Cassim Mohammed (*India, 11 August 1925—†Johannesburg, 25



March 1983), estate agent and community leader, was the eighth of nine children of Mohammed Bassa, a businessman, and his wife Fathima. Bassa's father came to South Africa with his family in 1927. Bassa was schooled in Durban and in 1944 matriculated through the prestigious Sastri College. Though his father encouraged him to train as a medical doctor, Bassa preferred to work as a research assistant in the Department of Economics at the University of Natal. Research on the economic circumstances of Indians in Natal awakened Bassa's interest in the history of Indian immigrants in South Africa and their struggle against racial discrimination. He became involved in political activities and joined the Natal Indian Congress in 1948.

Bassa's involvement in community work came very much by accident. He was requested by the Natal Indian Blind Society to collect and replace collection boxes in public places like factories and shops. His appointment as honorary secretary of the society followed in 1953.

As community leader Bassa decided to restrain his personal feelings as a strong proponent of the movements against racism, and rather work within the political system of the day for the benefit of the larger community. In doing so, Bassa was often subjected to humiliation for being black. He was either not allowed to attend welfare meetings or was given observer status with not only no vote but no voice either. He continued to make representations in person, if allowed, or conveyed his views to a white colleague who would then represent his case.

Though Bassa was involved in voluntary welfare work with all disabled people, his greatest impact was among the visually and hearing impaired. As president of the Natal Indian Blind and Deaf Society from 1966 until his death, Bassa was responsible for the expansion of the workshop for the Indian blind, the introduction of professional social work services and other related services to blind and deaf persons in Natal. He constantly campaigned at every level for a better dispensation with regard to pensions and grants for blind and deaf persons and for better subsidies for the workshops.

He was chairperson of the boards of management of the following state-subsidized schools: New Horizon School for the Blind, Durban School for the Indian Deaf and the V.N. Naik School for the Deaf. He served as an invited

member on the Management Board of the Spes Nova School for Cerebral Palsied Children. When the Council for the Advancement of Special Education in South Africa was formed to represent all Indian special schools and training centres, Bassa was elected the first chairperson—a position he held until his death.

Bassa was also involved in mainstream education and was grantee of the Orient Primary and Secondary Schools and the Anjuman Islam Primary School. Here again he was called upon to represent the Indian community in making representations for the improvement of community facilities. This he did successfully. At the time of his death he was also secretary of the Indian Centenary Scholarship Trust and joint secretary of the Orient Islamic Educational Institute.

At national level Bassa was a member of the executive committees of the South African National Council for the Blind and the South African National Council for the Deaf. These national bodies elected him chairperson for both the Division for Indian Blind and the Division for Indian Deaf. He served on several special committees in both the work of the blind and the deaf, as well as with the South African Welfare Council to which he was appointed by the Minister of Health and Welfare in terms of the National Welfare Act. He was a member of the Bureau for the Prevention of Blindness.

Bassa attended three international assemblies as South African delegate: the World Council for the Welfare of the Blind in New Delhi, 1969, and in São Paulo in 1974, and the International Agency for the Prevention of Blindness in Oxford, 1978.

He was a keen sportsman and played a leading role in promoting sport. He excelled in cricket and table tennis and led a table tennis team to play in Germany in 1957. Bassa was elected president of the South African Table Tennis Board which was affiliated to the international body. His condemnation of apartheid in sport and activities in the South African Council of Sport (SACOS) led to the government withdrawing his passport for many years.

Bassa received several awards for his services: the J.N. Reddy Community Award in 1975; a citation from the Durban City Council in 1977; and the R.W. Bowen Medal with citation from the South African Council for the Blind in 1979.

Apart from his volunteer work he was a successful estate agent. He was married to Khatija (nee Paruk). Three children were born of this marriage—two daughters and a son. He died in his sleep in a hotel in Johannesburg where he was attending a meeting of the South African National Council for the Deaf.

V.H. VAUGHAN, *Fifty years of service, 1929–1979: the story of the South African National Council for the Blind*. Pretoria, 1979; — Honoris causa: C.M. Bassa, South African Council for the Blind (R.W. Bowen Medal), 1979; — Obituary: *The Natal Mercury*, 26 March 1983; — The late Mr C.M. Bassa: a tribute. *Fiat Lux*, April 1983; — V.H. VAUGHAN, *The diamond years, 1979–1989: the story of the South African National Council for the Blind*. Pretoria, 1989.

BERMAN, Charles (*Poreveys, Lithuania, 24 June 1903—†Johannesburg, 27 April 1967), mine medical officer and expert on primary liver cancer, was the son of Alchonon (Chone) Berman, a butcher, and his wife Rachel Leah Nadelman.



Berman's parents came to Johannesburg when he was still a very young child. He matriculated from the Technical High School in Johannesburg in 1921. His father died while Berman was studying medicine at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, so he had to help his mother run the family business while continuing his medical studies. Nevertheless, his work on *encephalitis lethargica* (sleeping sickness) was the winning entry in the

British Medical Association's essay competition for final-year medical students of the British Empire outside the British Isles. He graduated M.B., Ch.B. in 1928.

In 1930 Berman was appointed full-time *locum tenens* at the hospital for Africans at City Deep, a mine belonging to the Corner House Group. He stayed with this group until his death, working later at Rose Deep, Consolidated Main Reef and Durban Roodepoort Deep where he was the senior medical officer.

His work span encompassed what has been described as the golden years of mine medicine, for the medical services were then so organized that medical officers could do a great deal of research in the course of their daily duties. The subject of his M.D. thesis (1938) was primary carcinoma of the liver, about which very little had been written at that time. Although a rare condition in whites, Berman found that it was common in the African labourers on the mines, particularly among those from Mozambique. He concluded that, although there was a genetic factor, the root cause was environmental, probably nutritional. His research ensured that the condition could be detected early, the key to the effective management of this disease. He published a monograph in 1951 and was soon recognized as a world expert on primary liver cancer. Many articles of his on this subject also appeared in a variety of journals.

Berman attended many international congresses, and in 1959 spent nine months at the Sloan-Kettering Institute for Cancer Research at the Memorial Hospital in New York as a visiting associate professor in experimental surgery. His work led to the establishment in 1965 of the Primary Liver Research Project, based at City Deep and run in conjunction with the University of the Witwatersrand. He was president of the Mine Medical Officers' Association of South Africa in 1964-1965.

A quiet and unassuming man, Berman was very artistic and musical. He was a member of the Johannesburg Musical Society for 35 years and entertained many internationally known musicians in his home. He collected paintings, and was able to restore damaged canvases. He was a foundation member of the Oxford Synagogue in Johannesburg.

Berman married Fay Roytowski of Cape Town and had two sons.

Transvaal Archives, Pretoria: Estate no. 3607/67; — Obituaries: *The Star*, 28 April 1967; *Jewish affairs*, 22(5), May 1967; *South African medical journal*, 41(47), 23 December 1967; — A. P. CARTWRIGHT, *Doctors of the mines*. Cape Town, 1971; — E. W. GEDDES, The work of the Primary Liver Cancer Research Project: the differential diagnosis of primary malignant hepatoma in patients referred to the Liver Cancer Unit. *Proceedings of the Mine Medical Officers' Association*, 52(414), September-December 1972; — The Primary Liver Cancer Research Project. *Proceedings of the Mine Medical Officers' Association*, 53(416), May-August 1973.

BIKO, Bantu Stephen (Steve) (*King William's Town, 18 December 1946—†Pretoria, 12 September 1977), Black Consciousness spokesperson, community worker and political activist, was the third child and second son of Mzingaye Matthew and Alice Duna (Mam)Cete Biko.



(Some sources give his birthplace as Tarkastad and his mother's maiden name as Duma.) Biko came from a family of ordinary means: his father worked as a clerk and his mother did domestic work. His father died when Biko was four years old. There was no indication in his early childhood that he would assume a particular ideological stance.

Biko attended the Brownlee Primary School for two years and the Charles Morgan Higher Primary School for four years. Both schools were in Ginsberg township near King William's Town. In 1963 he continued his education at Forbes Grant Secondary School in the township. During that year he went to Lovedale Institution at Alice in the Eastern Cape, where he was expelled after only three months, ostensibly because his brother, who was also at Lovedale, was arrested and imprisoned on charges of being a Poqo (the armed wing of the Pan-Africanist Congress) activist. In 1964, having missed a full year of studies after his dismissal from Lovedale, Biko went to boarding school at St Francis' College, a Roman Catholic institute at Mariannhill, Natal. He befriended a Catholic nun who discussed and explained at length all sorts of practices within the church. Biko also befriended a challenging Anglican priest, and pursued with interest questions of faith, his understanding of religion and his disappointment in the church. Thus, his secondary school training left him with a vested interest in Christianity (later reflected in thoughts on Black Theology) and an urge to strive towards an integrated, multiracial society.

Matriculating at the end of 1965 Biko entered the medical school of the University of Natal (non-European section), Durban. He wanted to do law at university but there was a popular conception in the Eastern Cape that equated law with political activism, and that (under the circumstances Biko found himself) was to be discouraged. Medicine was the safe alternative for a good profession, and Biko won a scholarship to study it. Soon after entering the university Biko was elected to the Students' Representative Council (SRC) of the medical school, and through it became involved with the multiracial National Union of South African Students (NUSAS). The members and leaders of

NUSAS were largely drawn from the liberal English-speaking universities. Until 1968 black students saw NUSAS as their only vehicle to change. Disillusionment began to grow as this organization seemed to confine itself to symbolic multiracial activities and verbal protests against the government, describing apartheid as the enemy and nonracialism as the solution. Although black students did participate, white spokespersons defined and expressed black grievances and goals.

During these years Biko progressively identified with the concept of Black Consciousness. He encouraged black students to dissociate themselves from white and multiracial student organizations. Apartheid had to be destroyed but the methods advanced by the liberal whites were at fault. The mere existence of multiracial organizations posed a contradiction and embodied, ironically, white racism. The pivot of black support hinged on the psychological battle for the minds of black people. Biko advocated solidarity among blacks; they had to identify with themselves and with blackness. This identification constituted a mental emancipation which in itself was a precondition for political emancipation. It is this concept of Black Consciousness (awareness) that could be regarded as Biko's most prominent contribution.

In 1968 Biko and his allies formed the South African Students' Organization (SASO), based on Biko's ideology of Black Consciousness, rejecting all white-conceived evolutionary solutions and renewing the trend away from liberal principles of reconciliation and nonviolence. The new organization and its ideological underpinnings struck a responsive cord in black university students. At SASO's formal inaugural conference in July 1969 Biko became its first president and the next year he was appointed publicity secretary. Due to the movement's pragmatic and nontheoretical undertone, it also had a following among the ordinary and the semi-literate blacks. This contributed largely to the formation of the Black People's Convention (BPC) in 1972—an organization to which Biko was elected honorary life president in 1977.

He terminated his studies at the university in 1972 and began to work for the Black Community Programmes (BCP) in Durban—initiated by the South African Council of Churches in 1971—whose offices were on the same premises as SASO. These programmes were geared particularly towards the social upliftment, general literacy and economic self-reliance of black people. The director of BCP (Bennie Khoapa) committed himself to the field of community development, but relied on Biko for political direction. The government's reaction to Black Consciousness came in March 1973 when eight leaders were banned and restricted to different magisterial districts; Biko was banned and restricted to King William's Town. Here he founded the Eastern Cape branch of the BCP and worked as branch executive until an extra clause was inserted in his banning order at the end of 1975 prohibiting him from working for the BCP. Biko was an untiring collector of funds and was instrumental in founding the Zimele Trust Fund in the Eastern Cape in 1975. The trust had three objectives. Firstly, it provided emotional and material support to ex-political prisoners at the time of their release. Secondly, educational support in the form of bursaries was provided for their dependants. Thirdly, the economic restabilization of ex-political prisoners was encouraged

by supporting the establishment of home industries and the Ginsberg Educational Trust for black students.

He made a high profile appearance in May 1976 when giving evidence at a trial of nine SASO-BPC members in Pretoria. During cross-examination Biko and his co-accused used the trial as a platform for expressing their political views and for speaking to their followers. He used history as his point of reference, and thereby highlighted the force and passion of Black Consciousness. Biko went further than using the dock as public platform: he challenged the very judicial process, and although he apparently did not expect the court to judge in his favour, he was satisfied that he was able to give an authoritative description of Black Consciousness.

Following the Soweto riots in June 1976 and at a time of general mass demonstrations against apartheid and the government, Biko was arrested in August 1976 and detained for 101 days under section 6 of the Terrorism Act, 1967. In March and July 1977 he was again arrested; in March he was detained and then released and in July released on bail.

On 19 August 1977, driving back to the Eastern Cape from Cape Town, together with Peter C. Jones (an activist in the Western Cape region of BPC in 1975-1976, who was requested by Biko to come and manage the King William's Town office), he was stopped at a police roadblock near Grahamstown, outside his restricted area, and arrested. He was taken to Port Elizabeth and detained for questioning—during which he was seriously injured. On 11 September he was taken to Pretoria for medical attention, but he died on 12 September 1977. The cause of death was a brain haemorrhage. During the subsequent inquest into the cause of Biko's death which started in November 1977 details of the maltreatment of political prisoners were revealed. However, as the exact events could not be reconstructed the police were exonerated.

Steve Biko was buried on 25 September 1977 beside the railroad near King William's Town. Thousands of mourners from all over the country, including diplomats from thirteen Western countries, converged on the town for the funeral. Police action prevented many mourners from the Transvaal, Durban, Cape Town and other areas from reaching the funeral.

Biko was described as a person of charm and personality. He was an orator of the highest quality whose perception and energy freed people psychologically to take their destiny into their own hands. At the same time he was described as sensitive and agonizing over many matters. Biko generally discouraged the cult of personality and tried to play a back-room role. According to him the struggle for black liberation was to be led by many rather than a few. Biko's life is fairly well documented. Some of his speeches and thoughts were published; books, films (documentary and otherwise), stage plays and artifacts about him were made available; and annually the Biko Remembrance Day evokes a fairly widespread fervour. His name has been linked to such diverse causes as those of Black Consciousness and the Azanian Peoples' Organization (AZAPO) to the Pan-Africanist Congress and the African National Congress. The truth is that Biko's style and thoughts were such that no one organization could possibly contain them.

In aid of the Black Renaissance Convention, SASO, BPC and BCP, Biko

published pamphlets and memoranda. He also contributed articles to *Katonia* (mouthpiece of the Medical Students' Council of the University of Natal, Durban) between 1968 and 1971, and *The Daily Dispatch* (under the pseudonym Tenjiwe Ntintso).

In December 1970 he married Nontsikelelo (Ntsiki) Margaret Mashalaba from Umtata. They had two sons. He also had a relationship with Mamphele Ramphele, a fellow student and member of SASO, who became a follower of Black Consciousness and was the first medical officer at the Zanempilo Community Health Centre which was opened in King William's Town in April 1975. To a great extent Ramphele served as a sounding-board for his political ideas. Two children were born of the relationship: a daughter who died at two months, and a son born after Biko's death in 1978.

South African Police, [Pretoria]: Reports on S.B. Biko (12 September 1977–31 December 1989); — [B.S. BIKO], Introduction. In: B.S. BIKO (ed.), *Black viewpoint*. Durban, 1972; — S. BIKO, Black Consciousness and the quest for a true humanity. In: M. MOTHLABI (ed.), *Essays on Black Theology*. Johannesburg, 1972; — A. STUBBS, Man of Ubuntu. *South African outlook*, 107(1275), 1977; — E. BAARTMAN, A free man. *South African outlook*, 107(1275), 1977; — Who was he? *South African outlook*, 107(1275), 1977; — S. BIKO, *I write what I like: a selection of his writings*; selected and edited by A. Stubbs. London, 1978; — M. ARNOLD (ed.), *The testimony of Steve Biko*. London, 1978; — H. BERNSTEIN, No. 46 Steve Biko. London, 1978; — G.M. GERHART, *Black power in South Africa: the evolution of an ideology*. Berkeley, 1978; — D. WOODS, *Biko*. Harmondsworth, 1978; — B. HIRSON, *Year of fire, year of ash. The Soweto revolt: roots of a revolution*. London, 1979; — W. UTTING, The Biko row flares up again. *The Sunday Times*, 30 August 1981; — D. DUBE, *The rise of Azania: the fall of South Africa*. Lusaka, 1983; — D.M. TUTU, *Hope and suffering: sermon and speeches*. Johannesburg, 1983; — N.M. MUENDANE, *A curve in a South African spy ring*. London, 1984; — T. DE JAGER, *Die swartbewussynsfilosofie van Steve Biko*. M.A. thesis. University of Pretoria, 1986; — S. BIKO, *The black book: thoughts of Steve Biko*. Johannesburg, 1987; — D. CLARK, The words of Steve Biko. *Amandla Press*, September 1988; — F. MELI, *South Africa belongs to us: a history of the ANC*. Harare, 1988; — N.B. PITAYANA *et al.* (eds), *Bounds of possibility: the legacy of Steve Biko & Black Consciousness*. Cape Town, 1991; — *Makers of modern Africa: profiles in history*. 2nd ed. London, 1991.

BLACKBURN, Molly (*Port Elizabeth, 12 November 1930—†Humansdorp, 28 December 1985), political activist and civil rights campaigner, was the daughter of Elgar Bellhouse (Buller) and Gladys Kathleen Pagden.



From an early age she was exposed to liberal politics through her father, a former chairperson of the Progressive Party in Port Elizabeth. She was educated at Collegiate School for Girls in Port Elizabeth and at Rhodes University, Grahamstown, where she graduated with a B.A. degree.

On a skiing trip in Europe she met Geoffrey Fletcher, whose Antwerp-based family specialized in maritime law. They married in 1954 but she found the role of a continental housewife an unsettling experience and in 1963 she and her three children returned to Port Elizabeth,

where she worked as a laboratory assistant. In April 1967 she married Gavin Blackburn, a medical doctor. They had four children.

To see her eldest three children through university, Blackburn started working as an estate agent and eventually went into partnership with two other women. She withdrew from the partnership in 1981 after her entrance into public life. In that year she won the Provincial Council seat of Walmer, Port Elizabeth, for the Progressive Federal Party (PFP).

In spite of her reservations about the council, which she felt dealt too exclusively with issues affecting the white community, she proved an extremely hard-working member with a highly conscientious devotion to duty. To her critics she defended her involvement with the government body on the grounds that it was not a creation of the new constitutional dispensation, which was being planned by the government, and hinted at her possible resignation from the PFP.

Molly Blackburn's exposure to the problems of South African life came through her involvement with the Black Sash Advice Office when it reopened in Port Elizabeth in 1982. Having resigned from the Black Sash in the mid-1960s because of its apparent inactivity, she now rejoined the movement. Through the advice office she came face-to-face with the grim reality of the region: the poverty, violence, political impotence and anger of the black communities.

As her reputation as a person who listened to problems grew, Blackburn was approached by numerous black groups to represent their interests—as was the case with the residents of the Lingelihle township near Cradock when Matthew Goniwe requested her in September 1983 to enquire officially into the structuring of rent, and to advise them on the procedures for forming a civic association.

There were few whites in public life who were as trusted and respected in the black community as Blackburn. 'Mama Molly', as she was known, was a familiar sight at political rallies and funerals. It was Blackburn, together with Di Bishop, a colleague in the Cape Provincial Council and a member of the Black Sash, who first drew the attention of the council to the critical situation in areas such as Cradock where, in their judgment, the black community had been alienated by the insensitive actions of officialdom. As early as 1983 Blackburn warned that the status of the police as law-enforcement officers was being undermined in these troubled communities. In an article in *The Cape Times* in May 1984 she warned that whites visiting black townships were no longer greeted by friendly waves, but by skinny arms raised in a clenched-fist salute.

Thanks largely to the efforts of Molly Blackburn and Di Bishop, supported by a number of PFP members of parliament, an initially reluctant National Party government agreed to the establishment of a commission of inquiry into the incident of police shootings at Langa township near Uitenhage on 21 March 1985 (the Commission Appointed to Inquire into the Incident which Occurred on 21 March 1985 at Uitenhage, chairperson D.D.V. Kannemeyer). The Kannemeyer Commission report, arguably the most important inquiry since the investigation into the 1976 Soweto disturbances, was a tribute to Blackburn's

determined campaign to establish the truth surrounding that tragic episode.

The authorities in the Eastern Cape and the Cape Provincial Council, dominated by the National Party, rapidly came to regard Blackburn as a trouble maker. Her insistent questioning and criticism of police and development board action aroused their wrath. Even some of her political colleagues, schooled in traditional liberal opposition politics, resented her confrontationalist approach. Her work was also not without risk. On a number of occasions she faced criminal charges as a result of her activities, as in July 1985 when she was arrested for attending a commemorative service for black leaders in Zwide, Port Elizabeth. Anonymous death threats, intimidation and harassment were a constant burden to bear.

On 28 December 1985 Molly Blackburn, her sister, Judy Chalmers, Di Bishop and her husband Brian who was a leader in the Civil Rights League, were driving back to Port Elizabeth after a day spent in Bongoletu township, Oudtshoorn. On a straight section of the road near Humansdorp the car, driven by Brian Bishop, was involved in a collision with another vehicle. Blackburn, Bishop and the driver of the other car were killed. Blackburn's death stunned and saddened many South Africans from all race groups who shared her commitment to interracial justice and admired her courage in forging links across the colour bar. Her funeral was attended by an estimated 20 000 people, an indication of her remarkable relationship with the black communities with whom she worked so tirelessly.

Dr G. Blackburn, Port Elizabeth: Molly Blackburn private collection; — Centre for African Studies Library, University of Cape Town: M. Blackburn newspaper file; — Obituary: *The Cape Times*, 30 December 1985; — K. SPINK, *Black Sash: the beginnings of a bridge in South Africa*. London, 1991.

BODASING, Babu (*Gosheekigurh, Agra district of Northern India, c.1853—



†Durban, 15 November 1919), also known as Dulel Sing Boodhasing, colonial number 8726, was a prominent sugar cane farmer and landowner on the Natal north coast. The family belonged to the Rajput or military caste.

Bodasing arrived in Natal on the immigrant ship *Enmore I* which sailed from Calcutta on 1 August 1874 and arrived at Port Natal on 1 September 1874. He was the second son in a poor family of seven children and he became an indentured immigrant for purely economic reasons. He gave the name of his mother, Kissonee Boodhasing, as his nearest relative. Nothing is known about his personal appearance except that, like most of his generation of Indian indentured immigrants, he was short—his height is recorded as 5 foot 2 inches (about 157.48 cm). How much schooling he had is not known, although he was literate and obviously had come from an agricultural background and understood both the value of land and how best to utilize it.

Immediately after his arrival he was indentured to the New Guelderland estate at Groutville on the north coast. The estate, one of the largest in Natal, had been established by T.C. Colenbrander* but he was declared bankrupt in 1870; in 1874 when Bodasing arrived it was in the hands of the Glasgow and Natal Sugar Company. However, by 1880 the estate was insolvent again and in 1882 it was taken over by a Matthews, Ash and Stewart. This estate was exceptionally well equipped with milling equipment and machinery necessary to refine sugar for export. Bodasing was allocated to the sugar milling section and spent the entire period of his indenture there, first as a labourer and then, as his leadership qualities were recognized, as a sirdar (a title indicating rank or leadership). He thus had the opportunity to learn all aspects of the sugar industry.

Throughout his time as an indentured worker he saved every penny he could from his wages. In addition he kept back some of his rations each week and sold them to his fellow workers who had families to feed. With the money he accumulated he hired a piece of land adjoining the estate and, working in his spare time, planted it with mealies, ground nuts, tobacco and vegetables, selling the harvest to supplement the rations provided to indentured labourers. As a result of this industry and initiative he found himself in the position to buy land in the Nonoti district (in the vicinity of the Nonoti River to the north of Stanger) as soon as his contract expired. (The contract was for a five-year period. Thereafter the worker was given an option of serving another five years for a free passage back to India, or obtaining his freedom. It is assumed Bodasing did not renew his contract, but chose the last option.)

From the outset he planted sugar cane. To raise the capital he entered into an equal partnership agreement with a Hollander named Frikson. Bodasing ploughed back all profits into the farm, buying more land as the opportunity arose. His next venture was in the vicinity of Dotana Beach near Stanger where he again planted sugar cane. Next he acquired land in the Groutville area not far from New Guelderland. In bad times he was able to survive because he never overextended his resources and in good times he used his profits thriftily. By 1900 he owned several thousand acres under cane, and three acres at Tugela, used for stock farming. By this time he was undoubtedly the largest Indian landowner in Natal and the first independent Indian sugar farmer. He dreamed of opening his own sugar mill but died before he could do so.

With his farming activities established, he began to buy property in Durban and in towns along the north coast, opening trading stores on several of the sites although his main investment was in residential property. He eventually built a large house on his New Guelderland property which he named Delhi. Bodasing was aware of the value of education and began to interest himself in schools for Indian children and for his workers. The first school was opened for workers on his New Guelderland farm. His sons continued his educational work after his death and in 1929 the school was moved to the original Bodasing farm house and named the New Guelderland Government Aided Indian school. Bodasing was also ahead of his time in providing housing for his workers and taking an interest in their welfare.

Bodasing was a staunch Hindu, interested in cultural activities relating to his

people, and a firm believer in Gandhi's philosophy of nonviolence.

Bodasing apparently married a young Indian girl named Lukkia on board ship on the voyage from Calcutta. Her father was recorded as Subnath (colonial number 7490). Lukkia's parents were of the Chhattri or warrior/land-owning caste of Northern India and as Chhattri is given as synonym for Rajput the bride was of a caste similar to Bodasing's—an important fact in the India of the time. Nine children—five sons and four daughters—were born of the marriage. Bodasing and his wife died in the same year, she in June and he in November. A note in the death register states that he was probably the wealthiest Indian-born man in Durban, with extensive property holdings in Stanger.

Natal Archives, Pietermaritzburg: Indian Immigration Papers, 1.1; — Documentation Centre, University of Durban-Westville, Durban: Unpublished study on the Bodasing family by S.J. Bodasing; — Department of Home Affairs, Durban: Indian Shipping Lists, Calcutta vol. B; Indian Immigration (Colonial) Registers; Indian Death Register, 1919–1921; — *The South African Indian who's who and commercial directory, 1938, 1939, 1960*. Pietermaritzburg, 1938, 1939, 1960; — R.F. OSBORN, *Valiant harvest: the founding of the South African Sugar Association*. Durban, 1964; — The Bodasings: pioneers in sugar. *Fiat Lux*, 16(9), November 1981; — Private information: Mr P. Bodasing (grandson), New Guelderland.

BOXALL, Dorothy Ruth (*King William's Town, 19 July 1895—†Johannesburg, 23 December 1951), music teacher and lecturer, writer and organizer of orchestral activities for the youth, was a daughter of William Percival and Augusta Boxall.



Boxall matriculated at Jeppe High School, Johannesburg, and won a scholarship to study music. From school she proceeded to the Johannesburg Training College to train as a teacher. After completing the Diploma in Music as well as the UTLM, LTCL and FTCL diplomas, she enrolled for the B.Mus. degree at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. She studied under Prof. P.R. Kirby* who had started the Department of Music at

the university in 1921, and obtained the degree with distinction—thus becoming the first South African to obtain this degree at the University of the Witwatersrand.

In 1926 Boxall joined the staff of Robert Pritchard's studio as lecturer in music history, and then taught at Maude Harrison's conservatoire until 1930 when she opened her own studio with Clarice Greenstone. In addition she taught at various schools on the Reef, including the girls' high schools of Parktown and Jeppe, while she was also organizer of music at the Rosettenville Junior Government School. In 1934 she was appointed lecturer in music at the Johannesburg Normal College, a position she retained for seventeen years. Boxall twice won gold medals for solo piano playing and frequently gave recitals for the Johannesburg Musical Society.

Boxall believed that music was essential in every child's education.

Maintaining that "everyone can sing" she encouraged children's active participation in music through singing or performing on musical instruments. In working among children from all sections of the community she dedicated her life to promoting and encouraging talent among the less privileged.

In her spare time she scored music for percussion bands. In 1932 she announced Saturday afternoon classes for children in percussion instruments and musical appreciation. However, it was not until 1945 that she realized her ambition to form a children's orchestra. Recruited from her percussion bands the little orchestra rehearsed every Saturday morning in the Johannesburg Teacher's Training College and in April 1946 the Young Citizen's Orchestra gave its first concert. Early members of this orchestra included Alex Murray who became a member of one of London's leading orchestras, Derek Ochse, senior lecturer at the University of the Orange Free State, and Peggy Haddon, senior lecturer at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Her love of choral work and her ambition to include less privileged children materialized in October of the same year when she directed a choir of 1 000 children, accompanied by the children's orchestra. In 1947 a mass choir sang under her direction at the Zoo Lake during the British royal family's visit. Boxall was presented with a gold medal by Their Majesties for her educational work in music. By 1950 the Children's Festival had become an annual event including not only the mass choir and the Young Citizen's Orchestra, but also a percussion band, a recorder band and the percussion band of St Vincent's School for the Deaf.

Devoting all her spare time to outside activities connected with music, she served on the executive council of the Johannesburg Music Society; acted as adjudicator at both the then European and Coloured Eisteddfods; was a member of the Music Committee of the Teachers' School Music Association; served on the Research and Education Committee of the South African Society of Music Teachers; and was twice chairwoman of the Witwatersrand University Musical Society. A regular contributor on music to *Die boervrou*, she also had articles published in the *South African music teacher*, the *Transvaal educational news*, *The Sunday Times* and *The Star*.

Her ultimate aim was to embrace all the arts in her movement. Accordingly in 1949 the Johannesburg Junior Orchestra and Theatre was launched. A year later, in 1950, this was followed by the first Annual Play Festival for schools and colleges. In co-operation with a Mr Woodhouse, organist of the St Mary's Cathedral and later of the Mayfair Anglican Church, Boxall organized the first South African Carols by Candlelight at the Zoo Lake. In 1951, the year of her death, she established the Witwatersrand College of Music whose new approach to music teaching ensured that children learnt to play instruments for which they were psychologically suited.

In her will Boxall left a trust for the Dorothy Boxall Bursary for Music to be awarded annually to a child in the Johannesburg municipality for teaching and training in music. Unfortunately this bursary was only awarded two or three times; since about 1960 no award has been made.

The year after her death the Children's Music Festival Society, the Transvaal School Music Association and the Johannesburg Junior Orchestra and

Theatre merged to become the Dorothy Boxall Young People's Music and Drama Movement. This group held a memorial concert for her in September 1952.

Transvaal Archives, Pretoria: Estate no. 184/52; — W.H.K., *The arts in South Africa*. Durban, [1934]; — Obituaries: *The Star*, 24 December 1951; *Transvaal educational news*, January 1952; *The South African music teacher*, 42, June 1952; — J.P. MALAN (ed.), *South African music encyclopedia*, 1. Cape Town, 1979.

BROCK, John Fleming (Jack) (*Port Elizabeth, 27 March 1905—†Cape Town, 3 July 1983), scientist, physician and teacher, was educated at Grey School, Port Elizabeth, and at the University of Cape Town (UCT). In 1925 he proceeded to Oxford University, England, as a Rhodes Scholar. After qualifying as physician in 1931, Brock served at the London Hospital, England as intern, registrar and research assistant. While he was Leverhulme Research Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians of London from 1932 to 1934, he spent a year at the Thorndike Memorial Laboratory, Boston City Hospital, United States of America (USA), studying the relationship of iron deficiency to hypochromic anaemia. In 1934 he was appointed first medical assistant at the then Postgraduate Medical School and Hammersmith Hospital, London. After the D.M. degree of Oxford was conferred on him in 1935 he left for Cambridge as assistant director of research in medicine.



In 1938, the year in which he became Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians (London), Brock was appointed professor of the practice of medicine at UCT and joint head of the Department of Medicine, Groote Schuur Hospital, a post in which he remained until 1953 when he became professor of medicine and head of the department.

Brock excelled at research and administration. He first became involved in clinical nutrition in 1932, and his fundamental contributions regarding protein energy malnutrition and the relationship between diet and atherosclerosis were recognized throughout the world. He was a member of the South African Nutrition Council and its research committee, and a member of the National Advisory Committee on Nutrition and Research to the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR). In 1949 he became director of the CSIR/UCT Clinical Nutrition Research Unit, as well as a member of the nutrition panel of the World Health Organization (WHO). He was appointed as a WHO consultant in 1950, and his monograph with M. Autret entitled *Kwashiorkor in Africa* was published as a WHO special report in 1952. In 1959 he presented the Humphrey Davy Rolleston lectures to the Royal College of Physicians in London, and read a paper at the Tenth Anniversary Symposium of the Ciba Foundation, entitled *Significant trends in medical research*. In 1960 he was invited to contribute to the international symposium on *Humanity and subsis-*

tence organized by Nestlé and chaired a panel on protein and amino acids at the Fifth International Nutrition Congress in Washington. In 1961 he was awarded the Silver Medal of the Medical Association of South Africa for distinguished research. A textbook entitled *Recent advances in human nutrition* which he edited was published in 1961. In 1962 he became chairperson of the WHO Expert Committee on the Medical Assessment of Nutritional Status. In 1963 he was invited to the Ciba Foundation Symposium on the biological future of man and the Sixth International Nutrition Congress in Edinburgh, Scotland, and was guest of honour at the Ciba Foundation Study Group on Diet and Bodily Constitution. In 1964 he attended, by invitation, the hundredth anniversary of the Boston City Hospital and the fortieth anniversary of the Thorndike Memorial Laboratory. In 1966 he was guest lecturer of the American College of Physicians, which elected him an honorary Fellow. In 1967 he was visiting professor at the Department of Nutrition Sciences, at Berkeley University, California, USA. From 1959 to 1970 he was a Fellow of UCT.

The development of the Department of Medicine at UCT reveals ample evidence of Brock's skill as an administrator. On assuming the chair of medicine, he found himself in charge of an embryonic unit, which although its teaching and patient care were solid, was lacking in research and could not fully qualify as an academic department. Thirty-two years later he left a department which had established itself as a centre of excellence, not only for patient care and for teaching, but also recognized throughout the world for the high standard of its clinical and fundamental research. In 1938 the department was housed in a corner of what is now the third-year block, but by 1970 it occupied four floors of the Falmouth Building for which he himself had raised the funds. The number of staff members had increased markedly as had the number of publications. In 1938 there were less than five publications, while in 1970 there were 155.

Brock served on the council of the College of Medicine of South Africa from 1956 to 1971, was president from 1965 to 1968 and was awarded a Fellowship of the college *honoris causa* in 1971. After 1970 he was made emeritus professor of medicine by UCT as well as honorary professor of the history and philosophy of medicine. He was awarded honorary D.Sc. degrees by the University of Natal and UCT. In 1971 he was Croonian Lecturer of the Royal College of Physicians of London. On 30 December 1972 the *South African medical journal* devoted an entire issue to him in recognition of the services he had rendered.

He stressed the importance of study and critical judgement in all medical practice and education; the individual patient as a member of a family and a community; and finally compassion.

In 1933 Brock married Ruth M. Lomberg of Somerset West. They had two sons and two daughters. His son David occupied the chair of genetics at the University of Edinburgh in Scotland.

J.H. LOUW, *In the shadow of Table Mountain*. Cape Town, 1969; — Prof. Brock kry nog 'n toekenning. *Hoofstad*, 23 Maart 1971; — Prof. J.F. Brock. *South African medical journal*

46(52), 30 December 1972; — Obituary: *The Argus*, 4 July 1983; *South African medical journal* 64(7), 13 August 1983; — R. KIRSCH & C. KNOX, *UCT Medical School at 75*. Cape Town, 1987; — J.D.L. HANSEN, John Fleming Brock. *Journal of nutrition*, 117, November 1987.

BUDD, Raymond Francis (Ray) (*Mowbray, Cape Town, 9 June 1910—Tonbridge Wells, London, England, 14 August 1974), trade unionist, was the only child of Robert Budd and his wife Ada Lea. His father, originally from England, was in the printing trade. Budd was educated at Rondebosch High School and the Technical College, both in Cape Town. He served his apprenticeship in Cape Town as a fitter at the Salt River Workshops of the South African Railways and also at Table Bay Harbour.



Budd joined the Cape Town branch of the Amalgamated Engineering Union (AEU) on 25 May 1933, subsequently holding all branch offices except treasurer. He was a shop steward for seven years and took over from his father-in-law as honorary part-time district secretary of the Cape Town branch in 1943, a position he held until 1949 when he was elected as the first full-time chairperson of the South African Council of the union. He was re-elected to this position every three years thereafter until 26 September 1960 when, under the new constitution whereby the AEU became a wholly South African union, he was appointed national chairperson, a position he held until his death. (Until 1960 the AEU was affiliated to the British AEU subject to the decisions of the executive council in England.) During the 41 years of his association with the AEU Budd helped to build it into a powerful organization.

The AEU appointed Budd as their delegate to various joint trade union, mining and engineering committees. He served on the national executive committee and the standing committee of the Mechanics' Unions' joint executives; was vice-chairperson of the Mechanics' Unions' Joint Committee (Mines); served on the Mining Unions' Joint Committee and the Explosives and Allied Industries Unions' Joint Committee; and as chairperson of the Federation of Mining Unions. He was also secretary of following three committees: the Pulp and Paper Manufacturing Industry Unions' Joint Committee, the Rand Water Board Unions' Joint Committee, and the Electricity Supply Commission Unions' Joint Committee.

In the field of arbitration Budd was extensively co-opted and headed many teams that negotiated with employers' organizations. He served in various capacities in the National Industrial Council for the Iron, Steel, Engineering and Metallurgical Industry: as vice-chairperson of the executive committee, a member of the management, claims and investment committees, and as vice-president and president.

The government made use of Budd's talents on several apprenticeship committees and on the National Apprenticeship Board and by appointing him to the

National Board for Sheltered Employment for Disabled Servicemen during the Second World War (1939–1945), the Commission of Enquiry into Compulsory Motor Vehicle Insurance in 1960, and the Economic Advisory Council to the Prime Minister.

In the wider trade union arena, Budd was active in encouraging the co-operative organization of trade unions, first as president of the Cape Federation of Labour Unions (1946 to 1948), which became the Cape District Committee, and then the Western Province Local Committee of the South African Trades and Labour Council (SATLC). From 1949 to 1950 he was vice-president of SATLC and in 1954 served on the Unity Committee which endeavoured to oppose the Industrial Conciliation Bill put forward by the government over the issues of job reservation and the prohibition of mixed trade unions and the exclusion of black workers from the right to belong to a registered trade union. Although largely unsuccessful in these aims, the Unity Committee was able to form a new unified trade union body which became the Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA). Budd served on TUCSA's national executive committee, National Management Committee and Officers Committee, and as president from 1959 to 1961. In 1966 the AEU, a white trade union, disaffiliated from TUCSA over job reservation and black membership and Budd was no longer closely associated with TUCSA.

Budd's trade union activities were not confined only to South Africa. He played an important part internationally. He represented the Mechanics' Unions' joint executives at the Metal Trades Committee of the International Labour Organization (ILO) held in Geneva in 1949, 1952, 1957 and 1960. At the 1957 session he was elected chairperson of the Workers' Group on Automation Committee, and at the 1962 session as chairperson of the Workers' Group that had to study any reactions by the government to previous decisions of the committee. He also served as an adviser to the Workers' Delegate, South Africa at the 1952 session of the ILO. It was just after attending the twenty-third annual conference of the International Metalworkers Federation in Stockholm in 1974 that he fell ill in France, returned to London and died there in hospital.

Budd was a man of high moral standards, illustrated by the fact that throughout his years as a full-time official of the AEU he refused to accept more than an artisan's rate of pay. He was a reserved man but someone people turned to in times of trouble. Several factors made him a patient and skilful negotiator. These included his ability to see two sides of a question, his factual approach and his perfectionism which led him to prepare his case well. His hobbies were carpentry, gardening and wild life photography.

On 5 November 1938 Budd married Eileen Mary Alexander. No children were born of the marriage.

Transvaal Archives, Pretoria: Estate no. 9053/74; — Library of the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg: Trade Union Council of South Africa Records; — A.M. CUNNINGHAM, *Records of the Trade Union Council of South Africa. Part 2: 1955–1986*. (The Library, University of the Witwatersrand, Historical and literary papers: Inventories of collections, 14); — I.L. WALKER & B. WEINBREN, *2000 casualties: a history of the trade unions and the labour movement in the Union of South Africa*. Johannesburg, 1961; — Obituaries:

The Star, 15 August 1974; *The Rand Daily Mail*, 16 August 1974; *Metaworker*, September 1974; — R.M. IMRIE, *A wealth of people: the story of the Trade Union Council of South Africa*. Johannesburg, 1979; — Private information: Mrs E. Budd (wife), Johannesburg.

BURNS, Abdol (*Cape Town, c.1838—†Cape Town, early June 1898, buried



on 11 June 1898), Cape Muslim political leader, cab-driver, teacher. His father was probably a private soldier of Scottish origin and his mother of Cape Malay origin. It is not known whether he had brothers or sisters. Burns's parents died when he was a child and he was brought up by a Cape Dutch family who had employed his mother. Although he seems to have been a Muslim from birth, he was educated at St Stephen's School, a Dutch Reformed Church mission institution. Later he was apprenticed to the saddlery trade. However, it is not clear if or for how long he practised this trade, because at some stage he was also a teacher before becoming a

cab-driver—probably in the 1880s.

Unlike many of his co-religionists, Burns was English-speaking and preferred pure Dutch to the 'taal' (Cape Dutch or Afrikaans). He placed a high value on his British heritage and on education. He sent his children to church schools, two to the Catholic Marist Brothers' College, and two to an English church school. The educational values which he espoused were derived from the Victorian social values of cleanliness and class, as he explained in his evidence to the Education Commission of 1891. Burns was also an active member of the Union Cricket Club, negotiating for land on Green Point common for Muslim cricketers. He was a supporter of the Empire League (or Imperial League, an association founded in Cape Town in September 1884 in opposition to the Afrikaner Bond and to show support for British expansionism in Southern Africa).

Burns made his political debut in 1869 at a meeting organized by Prof. Roderick Noble* and Saul Solomon* to protest against the harsh amendments of the Masters and Servants Act. (This Act carried criminal sanctions for breach of contract or similar offences by a servant—a person employed for wages in agriculture, industry or domestic service.) He remained a supporter of Solomon, and Solomon's newspaper, *The Cape Argus*, usually gave Burns a friendly mention, commenting in 1869 on the quality of his English and on his self-possession and intelligence.

In the 1880s Burns apparently became increasingly involved in the affairs of the Cape Muslim community. He abandoned his career as a teacher to become a cab-driver. He began to describe himself as 'Secretary to the Malay Community' although he probably represented only a part of the community. This association with Muslim interests brought Burns into conflict with the Cape Town municipality and the colonial government. In 1882, during a major smallpox epidemic, Burns refused to allow his children to be removed to the isolation hospital, arguing before a Town Council meeting on 31 July 1882 that

religion was superior to the law.

This standpoint led Burns to take a leading role in Muslim resistance to the closure of the Cape Town cemeteries in January 1886. (The Public Health Act of 1883 stipulated that burials in any cemetery or burial ground within the limits of any city, town or village should be discontinued; new cemeteries could only be established with consent of the governor of the Cape Colony. Between 1884 and 1885 several Government Notices regarding the closure of the cemeteries within the limits of the municipality of Cape Town were published.) Although other religious groups, particularly the Dutch Reformed Church, opposed the closure, only the Muslims resisted actively. On 17 January 1886, after prolonged unsuccessful negotiations with the colonial government in which Burns played a prominent part, a riot occurred in Cape Town in which the police were attacked. Burns does not appear to have encouraged the riot, although he was probably present, but he was singled out as the chief offender and sentenced to two months' hard labour and a £10 fine.

Burns's political influence in the Muslim community waned after the cemetery riots—probably because the riots were unsuccessful and Burns had no permanent standing as religious leader in the Muslim community. He died in poverty in 1898 after he had been forced to sell his cab.

During his lifetime and subsequently interpretations of Burns's actions have been contradictory, some seeing him as a martyr while others have viewed his actions as wild or unrepresentative of Muslim interests. It is possible that these contradictions arose from his ambiguous position in colonial society in which the Victorian and liberal values which he had imbibed as a young man came into conflict with the fundamental beliefs of the Cape Muslim community in which religious practices clashed with modern sanitary reforms. In addition his position in Muslim society was tenuous since Burns lacked the status of a religious leader. His historical importance lies partly in the way in which his life illustrated these paradoxes under colonialism.

Burns married a Muslim woman in about 1867 in Somerset West. He had four children.

Cape Archives, Cape Town: AG 2881-7, Preliminary examinations, 1.2.1886; G 9-1891, *Report of the Education Commission*; — Obituary: *The Cape Argus*, 11 June 1898; — A. DAVIDS, *The mosques of Bo-Kaap: a social history of Islam at the Cape*. Athlone, 1980; — A. DAVIDS, *The history of the Tana Baru: the case for the preservation of the Muslim cemetery [sic] at the top of Longmarket Street*. Cape Town, 1985; — M.A. BRADLOW, *Islam, the colonial state and South African history: the 1886 cemetery rising*. B.A. (Hons) thesis. University of Cape Town, 1985; — E.B. VAN HEYNINGEN, *Public health and society in Cape Town, 1880-1910*. Ph.D. thesis. University of Cape Town, 1990.

BUTSHINGI, Makhwenke Harrison (*Engcobo, Transkei, 28 February 1906—†Orlando West, Soweto, 28 February 1980), trade unionist and community leader. He was the second child of Valelo James Butshingi and his wife Angeline Nokwenjenje (nee Thuswa). Butshingi attended school at Cwecweni, situated between Engcobo and Idutywa in Transkei. He moved to Johannesburg in 1925 where he became an insurance company agent, and director of an



investment trust. However, by the 1940s he had become involved in trade unionism, although it is not known how or when this involvement came about.

From 1941 to 1944 he was assistant secretary of the African Commercial and Distributive Workers Union which had a membership of 10 000. In 1944 he was one of the delegates to represent the African Explosives Workers Union in a request for better conditions for the workers. From 1945 to 1953 he was a member of the Publishing and Newspaper

Distributors African Workers Union. As secretary of the union he was involved in negotiations for improved wages and working conditions. An interim agreement was reached but the compensation granted to the Transvaal workers in 1947 were only valid until the end of June 1948. From June 1948 until his retirement from the union he remained involved in negotiations with the government.

Butshingi was a very active member of the community and a keen athlete. He was president of the Dube Bowling Club and president of the South Africa African Cricket Board for an uninterrupted period from 1956 to 1970 when he relinquished the presidency of his own accord. He was a horse-racing enthusiast and spent some of his leisure time at the race course.

He was involved in civic matters. He was a leader of the Orlando West Vigilance Association; a member of the defunct Urban Bantu Council before he became a Soweto City councillor; and vice-chairperson of the Joint Advisory Boards of Johannesburg. As a devout Christian he was an active member of the Bantu Methodist Church. He was also a member of the Church Connexional Trust Properties Committee, and of the synod of the Transvaal and Bechuanaland District Church.

Butshingi died at his Orlando West home and was buried at the Avalon Cemetery on Saturday, 8 March 1980. He was survived by his second wife, Priscilla, and three children from his first marriage.

Central Archives, Pretoria: ARB 4501, 1069-215; ARB 4783, 1183/12-47; ARB 4784, 1183/12-47; — T.D.M. SKOTA (ed.), *The African who's who: an illustrated classified register and national biographical dictionary of the Africans in the Transvaal*. 3rd ed., rev. & enl. [Johannesburg, 1965]; — Obituary: *Soweto news: the official journal of the Soweto Council*, (3), 1980; — Private information: Ms N.H. Butshingi (daughter), Soweto, Johannesburg; Mr W.J.P. Carr (ex-manager, Non-European Affairs Department of the City Council of Johannesburg), Johannesburg; Mrs E.B. Kwinana (friend), Orlando West, Soweto, Johannesburg; Mr S.S. Mahlangu (ex-member, Pimville Advisory Board), Soweto, Johannesburg; Mr S.P. Twala (assistant senior manager, Mofolo-Zondi Municipal Offices), Soweto, Johannesburg; Mr G. Xorile (friend), Orlando West, Soweto, Johannesburg.

C

CADDY, Benjamin Jennings (Ben) (*Ballarat, Australia, c. November 1881—



†Johannesburg, 13 March 1955), trade unionist, was the second of the eleven children of James Caddy, a Cornishman who emigrated with his parents to Australia in 1854. His mother was Mary Ann Jennings who married his father in 1866.

Caddy was educated in Australia and came to South Africa in 1898 at the age of seventeen. Shortly after his arrival the South African War of 1899 to 1902 broke out and he served on the British side with the Western Province Mounted Rifles and later with the Johannesburg Mounted Rifles and the First Rand Rifles.

A boilermaker by trade, Caddy joined the United Kingdom Boilermakers' Society in 1904 and soon became actively involved, participating in the 1913 and 1914 general strikes. In 1916 he played a prominent part in helping to form the South African Boilermakers', Iron and Steel Workers', Shipbuilders' and Welders' Society, known in short as the Boilermakers' Society. Two years later he was a delegate to the first trades union congress in Johannesburg and in 1920 he was elected general secretary of the Boilermakers' Society. For the next 30 years, until he retired in 1950, he was to be closely associated with the society.

In 1919 Caddy played a militant role as one of the Johannesburg municipal employees who seized control of the municipal services and formed a board of control to administer the town in the interests of the citizens. During the 1922 strike he was present in the Trades Hall when it was raided by the police during the meeting of the Committee of Action and was arrested and imprisoned with other members of the committee. He was a member of the Transvaal Strike Legal Defence Committee, formed to provide legal defence for those indicted on the Witwatersrand for murder, treason, sedition and other felonies arising from the strike.

Caddy served in many important committees and organizations. In 1924 he became a member of the Mining Industry Apprenticeship Committee and in 1929 he attended the International Labour Organization Conference in Geneva as adviser to W.H. (Bill) Andrews*, a prominent labour leader. Caddy helped to form the Mining Unions' Joint Committee and served as chairperson from

1939 to 1951. Other organizations which he helped to found were the South African Trade Union Assurance Society (later TRADUNA) of which he became vice-chairperson, and the South African Trade Union Building Society of which he became chairperson. He was South Africa's delegate to the International Labour Organization Metal Trade Committee's Conference in Stockholm and Geneva in 1947 and 1949, and in 1951 he became deputy chairperson of the Mine Employees' Pension Fund.

The South African government utilized his abilities on various boards and committees. Caddy strongly supported South Africa's participation in the Second World War (1939-1945) and from 1940 to 1945 he served on the Munitions Production Committee. He also served on the Manpower Control Board from 1942 to 1945. Other governmental boards on which he served were the Demobilisation Board, the Unemployment Insurance Board, the Citrus Board and the Union Tender Board. He was equally active in the Engineering Industrial Council.

In the wider trade union movement Caddy was associated with several trade union federations: the South African Industrial Federation, the South African Trades Union Congress, and the South African Trades and Labour Council. Perhaps his most important contribution to the trade union movement was in 1954 when he helped to found the Trade Union Unity Committee and became its chairperson. This committee was formed in response to the government's attempt to amend the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1924. The proposed bill would have divided trade unions racially, brought about job reservation, and prevented African workers from joining registered trade unions. He chaired both the first and the second unity conferences which resulted from these events. In October 1954 he was elected honorary life president of the South African Trades Union Council, later renamed Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA), which grew out of the unity movement. His tenure as president was brief as he died a few months later.

Caddy was regarded as the doyen of the trade union movement in South Africa and was honoured with the Coronation Medal in 1953. He had a likeable personality, no false pride and a strong sense of humour. In June 1911 Caddy married Catherine Timmins in England and two daughters were born of the marriage.

Transvaal Archives, Pretoria: Estate no. 2023/55; — A.M. CUNNINGHAM, *Records of the Trade Union Council of South Africa. Part II: 1955-1986* (Library of the University of the Witwatersrand, Historical and literary papers: Inventories of collections, 14); — *South African who's who*, 1952; — Obituaries: *The Star*, 14 March 1955; *South African mining and engineering journal*, 19 March 1955; — I.L. WALKER & B. WEINBREN, *2000 casualties: a history of the trade unions and the labour movement in the Union of South Africa*. Johannesburg, 1961; — N. HERD, *1922: the revolt on the Rand*. Johannesburg, 1966; — M. HORRELL, *South Africa's workers*. Johannesburg, 1969; — R.M. IMRIE, *A wealth of people: the story of the Trade Union Council of South Africa*. Johannesburg, 1979; — Private information: Mrs J. Caddy (wife), Johannesburg; Mr G. Steward (colleague), Johannesburg; Mrs L.M. Lowsby, Victoria, Australia.

CALATA, James Arthur (*Rabula, near Keiskammahock, 22 June 1895—†Cradock, 16 June 1983), Anglican clergyman and African National Congress (ANC) leader, was the son of a Ngqika peasant farmer, James Calata, and his wife Eliza, who practised as a midwife. The family was Christian: Calata's father, who had received no formal education, was a Presbyterian, while his mother who had reached Standard 4 at school, was an Anglican.



Calata was educated at St Matthew's College (Assamoah Kwame St Matthew's High School) at Keiskammahock and later taught at the same college as well as in Port Elizabeth. In 1921 he was ordained to the diaconate and was assistant at St

Stephen's mission in Korsten outside Port Elizabeth until his ordination to the priesthood in 1926. He worked at St Ninian's mission in Somerset East for two years and then went to St James' mission in Cradock in 1928 where he served until his retirement in 1968. He lived in the township of Lingelihle outside Cradock until his death and was buried there.

A slight figure, never robust in health, Calata was a formidable organizer. St James' mission served the entire Cradock district, as well as parts of the districts of Hofmeyr and Middelburg (Cape Province). The work of the mission expanded under his direction. Apart from running the main station, Calata travelled to many outstations, supervised the work of 30 lay preachers, and until the passing of the Bantu Education Act (1953), supervised six day schools, including one with over 500 pupils at Cradock. He was a faithful and diligent priest, maintained strict moral discipline and rigorously examined Anglicans in the Cradock district in their knowledge of the catechism.

Calata advocated increased African participation in leadership positions in the Church of the Province of South Africa (the Anglican Church). In 1943 he was nominated for the vacant Bishopric of the Diocese of St John's (Transkei) but was not elected. He played a significant role in synods and missionary conferences in the Diocese of Grahamstown and also in provincial organizations. In 1960 Calata was appointed to the Council of the Anglican College of the Federal Theological Seminary. He was a canon of Grahamstown cathedral from 1961 to 1970, and an honorary canon from 1959 to 1961 and again from 1970 until his death.

Calata's political activities were rooted in his Christian faith: he believed that Christianity could only grow among Africans when their political, social and economic disabilities were recognized and ameliorated. He was an African nationalist with respect for traditional African leaders and a desire for African unity. At the same time, his approach was essentially liberal. He believed that political goals would be achieved by moderate appeals to government officials and through interracial co-operation, hence his participation in the multiracial Joint Council of Europeans and Bantu in the 1920s and 1930s, and his support for Margaret Ballinger*, who represented the Cape Eastern District as one of the African representatives in the South African parliament from 1938 to 1960.

Calata joined the ANC in 1930 when he led the Cradock Vigilance Association to become a branch of the ANC. In the same year he was elected president of the Cape branch of the ANC—a position he held until 1949. He was instrumental in establishing a branch of the ANC in Port Elizabeth, later a stronghold of the movement. From 1936 to 1949 he was secretary-general of the ANC.

When Calata took over as secretary-general under Pixley Seme who was then president, the ANC was virtually moribund. His efforts contributed substantially to the revival of the organization under the following two presidents—Z.R. Mahabane* (1937–1940) and A.B. Xuma* (1940–1949). The revival was a slow and painstaking process, with the financial situation of the organization and provincial differences the biggest problems. Mahabane and Calata visited all the provinces and helped solve local problems in branches of the organization. This nationwide tour served to revive the organization and younger people were drawn into the ANC which led to the formation of the Congress Youth League in 1943.

By 1948 speeches by ANC leaders had become increasingly more militant. An element, represented by Calata, expressed the opinion that a way should be found to co-operate with the new National Party government towards the promotion of the welfare of the Africans. However, as secretary-general of the ANC he co-signed the Programme of Action in 1949 though he found the proposals of the younger militants too extreme. In 1949 Calata declined re-election as secretary-general of the ANC, citing as reasons his long service, many responsibilities and the fact that he believed a younger man should be appointed to the position.

As he did not retire from active politics he was banned from attending any gatherings at the time of the 1952 Defiance Campaign. The prohibition on ministering at church services was later withdrawn, but his marriage licence and permit to buy communion wine were cancelled. In October 1956 he chaired the conference on the Tomlinson Report (*Report of the Commission for the Socio-Economic Development of the Bantu Areas*) organized by the Interdenominational African Ministers' Federation (IDAMF). A few weeks later, in December 1956, he was one of the 156 leaders charged with treason and was briefly imprisoned after his arrest. In 1962 Calata received a suspended sentence in terms of the Unlawful Organizations Act for possession of two photographs of ANC leaders that were more than 20 years old. Between 1963 and 1968 he was restricted to the Cradock district.

Calata belonged to several other organizations. For over 20 years after 1938, he was president of the St Ntsikana Memorial Association, an interdenominational organization founded in 1909 to honour the Xhosa prophet Ntsikana* and his contribution to the expression of Christianity in an African idiom. Calata also served as president of the IDAMF; he was divisional commissioner of the Cape Midlands Division of the Pathfinders, the African branch of the Scout movement; and he played a leading role in the Cape African Parents Association, formed as a result of outbreaks of violence in Eastern Cape mission schools in the 1940s.

James Calata married Milltha Mary in 1918. Milltha Mary Calata had

obtained a Standard 6 certificate from St Matthew's, and was later leader of the Mother's Union of Loyal African Women in Cradock. Three daughters were born of this marriage. Calata's grandson, Fort Calata, was chairperson of the CRADOYA youth group in Cradock. Fort was one of the four United Democratic Front leaders of Cradock who were killed near Port Elizabeth in 1985—the other three were Matthew Goniwe, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicelo Mhlauli.

Library of the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg: Calata collection; — Library of the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg: Archives of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa; — M. BENSON, *The African patriots: the story of the African National Congress of South Africa*. Chicago, 1963; — T. KARIS & G.M. CARTER (eds), *From protest to challenge: a documentary history of African politics in South Africa, 1882–1964*. 4 vols. Stanford, 1972–1977; — Obituary: *Eastern Province Herald*, 18 June 1983; — P. WALSH, *The rise of African Nationalism in South Africa: the African National Congress, 1912–1952*. Cape Town, 1987; — J. BUTLER, R. ELPHICK & D. WELSH (eds), *Democratic liberalism in South Africa: its history and prospect*. Cape Town, 1987; — F. MELI, *South Africa belongs to us: a history of the ANC*. Harare, 1988; — K. SPINK, *Black Sash: the beginnings of a bridge in South Africa*. London, 1991; — Private information: Ms N. Calata (daughter), Lingelihle, Cradock.

CALUZA, Reuben Tholakele (Thola) (*Siyamu, Kwa Caluza, Edendale, near Pietermaritzburg, 14 November 1895—†Durban, 5



March 1969), Zulu composer, choirmaster, lecturer in choral music, and businessman, was the only child of Mordecai Caluza and his wife (nee Nxele). He was the grandson of John Mlungunyama Caluza, the first choir conductor at Edendale and probably the first Zulu to teach and sing from staff notation. Caluza's great-grandfather, Reuben Tuyu Caluza, was the first Wesleyan convert in South Africa.

Caluza received his primary schooling at Presbyterian schools at Edendale. Impressed by Ohlange Institute after attending a concert given by their choir and brass band, Caluza's father entered him there as a boarder in 1909 for his secondary education. After his schooling he stayed on to teach from 1915 to 1930, interrupted in 1918 and 1920 when he attended Mariannhill Training College.

While a pupil at Ohlange Institute he played the organ for the Ohlange kindergarten classes (1909) and the following year he trained a male voice quartet. At the age of seventeen, in 1912, he tried his hand at composition with 'Silusapho Lwase Africa' (We are the children of Africa) and at 20, when Lingard Bophela left the institute, he took over as choir conductor. Renowned for their holiday fund-raising tours, the choir were in Johannesburg when they heard the popular 'Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika' by Enoch Sontonga*, and included it thereafter in their tour repertoire and popularized it.

With a choir at his disposal, Caluza started composing in earnest and a

series of real choral concert hits followed. The songs described Zulu life and dignitaries such as the witch doctor ('Izizwe Ezimnyama', 'Kwamadala' and 'Isangoma') or poked fun at the Zulu men in their fashionable new trousers (Oxford bags). His song describing the busy streets of Durban ('Ixegwana') was sung by the Mariannahill College Choir at a concert in the Durban City Hall in 1921. Twenty-seven of these songs were published by Lovedale Press in *Amagama Ohlange Lakwe Zulu* (Book of Zulu Songs) which sold a record 1 000 copies in six months.

In 1930 Caluza took a group of four male and six female Zulu singers to England on invitation of His Master's Voice Gramophone Company. At the company's studios in Hayes, Middlesex, they recorded 150 songs: 45 of Caluza's compositions, 30 of his own Zulu folk song arrangements and 75 traditional Zulu folk songs. The singers returned to South Africa but Caluza ventured on to Virginia in the United States of America where he took a four-year B.A. Music Education degree at Hampton Institute. The compositions submitted for his degree were two instrumental works: 'Rondo for orchestra' and 'Reminiscences of Africa'. While there he formed a quartet of West African fellow students. Zulu folk songs were included in the folk song concert tour of the quartet.

From Hampton Institute he proceeded to Columbia University in New York where he read for an M.A. degree in music education. He submitted two string quartets, one based on his own song 'Ricksha' and the other on the spiritual 'Go down Moses'. These instrumental works influenced his later choral works (such as 'U Tokoloshe') in their increased chromatic melodic movement and modulation into related keys.

Caluza finally returned to Natal in 1936. When Albert Luthuli* left Adams College (Amanzimtoti Zulu Training College) at Amanzimtoti in that year, Caluza took over as head of music. Caluza remained there for ten years. He taught music, trained and conducted the choir, recorded with them and took them on annual concert tours of the country. Their repertoire included Zulu folk songs and his own compositions.

Adams College was the centre for an annual winter agricultural show started by Mr and Mrs Hosken who were attached to Adams Mission. The highlight of this show was an interchoral competition at which the annual compositions of the two Zulu composers William Mseleku and Caluza, composed for the competition, were performed. Caluza's compositions were strongly influenced by ragtime and humour.

In 1947 Caluza left the college, disgruntled with his 'graduate' salary, and went into business. His Sizananjana Trading Store at Edendale became the head office for two similar stores, the Hhemuhhemu Trading Store at Pietermaritzburg and the Nkumba Store at Bulwer. The Ngoya Bottle Store later also became part of the chain. Also in 1947 he bought a passenger bus which travelled between places like Underberg, Ondini, Lotheni, Ndawane and Sani Pass.

When the University College of Zululand (Ngoya) was established in 1959 he returned to academic life as part-time lecturer in choral music to initiate the course. He was there for some years until ill health, caused by diabetes, forced

him to retire.

Caluza married a Miss Nxaba. They had no children of their own but adopted three sons. He died in the King Edward Hospital in Durban and was buried in Empangeni.

Caluza left an indelible imprint on Zulu choral composition through his own works, his students, and his stalwart promotion of the Zulu folk song. His songs deplored the neglect of their families by Zulu men working in Johannesburg, and decried anything that defied Zulu norms. A list of Caluza's compositions appears in *South African music encyclopedia, 1 (infra)*.

Natal Archives, Pietermaritzburg: 1/BLR 4/3/12, N2/4/3/33; — OWAYEKHONA, Ezase Nkumba: ibasi entsha yo Mnu. R.T. Caluza. *Ilanga lase Natal*, 3 May 1947; — Obituary: U-R.T. Caluza useshonile. *Ilanga lase Natal*; — Ufihlwe yiningi uR.T. Caluza. *Ilanga lase Natal*, 22 March 1969; — Y. HUSKISSON, *Bantu composers of Southern Africa*. Johannesburg, 1969; — J.P. MALAN (ed.), *South African music encyclopedia, 1*. Cape Town, 1979; — Y. HUSKISSON, *Bantu composers of Southern Africa: supplement*. Pretoria, 1983; — S.M. DU RAND, *From mission school to Bantu education: a history of Adams College*. M.A. thesis. University of Natal, 1990; — Private information: Mr Emmanuel Caluza (cousin-brother), Edendale, Pietermaritzburg.

CHAMPION, Allison Wessels George (*Sans Souci Mission Station at Non-



yeke, near Groutville, Stanger district, 4 December 1893—†Chesterville, Durban, 28 September 1975), trade union leader, politician and businessman, was the youngest son of George Champion and his second wife, Nomazembe Cele, the daughter of an *induna* of the Cele people. Champion's parents were Christian Zulus. The family name Champion was derived from an American missionary, the Rev. George Champion*, who adopted Champion's father and educated him. The original family name was Mhlongo.

Champion (Jr) received his first education at the missionary schools at San Souci and Fairview. From 1910 he continued with his high school career at Amanzimtoti Institute (later known as Adams College and then as Amanzimtoti Zulu Training College). However, in September 1913, prior to completing his Standard 7 year, he was expelled due to disciplinary problems. Apparently he expressed resentment at being taught by student teachers, and assaulted a boy who had humiliated him in front of other boys. Champion probably had eight or nine years of schooling. He then joined the South African Police and in November 1913 began working as a policeman in Cleveland, a small town (now a suburb) between Jeppe in Johannesburg, and Germiston. After a year Champion was transferred to Dundee in Natal where he was a special branch investigator and acted as interpreter in the charge office of the Dundee Police Station.

As policeman his most outstanding achievement was the formation of a

policemen's union which worked for the equal treatment of African policemen. He ascribed his resignation from the force in 1916 to the fact that he was uncomfortable in a career where he sometimes had to witness the maltreatment of Africans and on occasion had to spy on his own people, as well as to his mother's discouraging him from working against his own people.

He returned to the Witwatersrand where he held a number of jobs. He worked in several stores; was a time-keeper assistant at the Roodepoort United Gold Mining Company; for a few months tried his luck as a diamond digger at the diggings near Taung; went into a butchery business with the assistance of Richard Mdima around 1918; and in 1920 started working at Crown Mines as a clerk. In the same year he was elected president of the newly formed Transvaal Native Mine Clerks Association which agitated for higher wages and the improvement of working conditions. He now became a prominent spokesperson for African workers; a member of the liberal Gamma Sigma Club, a social and debating society founded in 1918; a member of the multiracial Johannesburg Joint Council of Europeans and Bantu after it was founded in 1921; and a member of the multiracial executive committee of the elite organization, the Bantu Men's Social Centre, when it was founded in 1924.

In 1925 Champion was persuaded by Clements Kadalie*, leader and founder of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU) to accept the full-time position of secretary of the Transvaal branch of the union when the ICU moved its headquarters from Cape Town to Johannesburg. A few months later Champion was transferred to Natal where, under his dynamic leadership, the Durban branch of the ICU became the most powerful and enthusiastic branch of the union. During this period he built a reputation as an active opponent of the oppressive laws of the Durban municipal system. Between 1925 and 1928 he successfully used the courts to challenge a number of laws such as the nine o' clock curfew, the prohibitions on Africans renting rooms and engaging in trade in town, the ending of the system whereby Africans could be tried in batches for the same offences, and the 'dipping' (devermination) of African workers. Although these victories were short lived (the prohibitions were either reinstated or followed by others), they rendered Champion and the ICU visible and increasingly popular.

Next to Kadalie Champion was the most influential person in the ICU. By 1926 the ICU ideology turned away from communism. This can be attributed to the influence of liberals with whom leaders like Champion came into contact. Towards the end of 1926, with increasing tension between the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA, 'South African Communist Party (SACP) after 1953) and the ICU, Champion played an important role in the split between the two organizations and the expulsion of union leaders who refused to resign from the CPSA. In 1927 Champion acted as national organizing secretary of the ICU during Kadalie's visit to Europe.

Kadalie increasingly feared Champion as a threat to his leadership and this contributed to Champion's suspension from the union in April 1928 on account of alleged financial malpractices. The end result was that the Durban branch of the ICU and its Natal affiliates broke away to form the ICU *yase* Natal under the leadership of Champion. The involvement of Champion and the ICU *yase*

Natal in the Durban beer boycott and the accompanying violence of 1929 to 1930 is usually quoted as the reason for his expulsion from Natal under the Riotous Assemblies (Amendment) Act of 1930. However, Champion's overtures to the Zulu royal family and chiefs played a significant role in his banning order. He met the Zulu king Solomon KaDinuzulu* in August and September 1930. The state saw this as a threat since it was interpreted as a sign of approval of the ICU *yase* Natal by the most important traditional leader of the Zulus. Champion settled in Johannesburg and was only allowed to return to Durban after three years. While in Johannesburg and after his return to Durban, he was a key figure in the establishment of the freehold township of Clermont in the Pinetown magisterial district. By the time he returned to Durban the ICU *yase* Natal had declined to a negligible organization although Champion continued to lead an organization of the same name in Durban for several years after 1933.

Champion was an active member of the African National Congress (ANC). During the ANC presidency of J.T. Gumede* (1927–1930) Champion was a member of the executive. While Pixley Seme was president of the ANC (1930–1937) Champion lost his position in the congress but was re-elected to the executive in 1937 and remained a member until 1951. In the struggle against Gen. J.B.M. Hertzog's* segregation legislation of 1936 he also served on the executive of the All-African Convention. In 1942 Champion was elected to the Native Representative Council (NRC) and represented rural Natal until the council was dissolved in 1951. In this period he was one of the most outspoken NRC members against the South African racial policy. The rivalry between John Dube* and Champion for the leadership in Natal came to an end in 1945 when the latter was elected provincial president of the ANC with the aid of Henry Msimang* and Jordan Ngubane. A.B. Xuma* who was then president of the ANC, drew Champion into closer co-operation, even appointing him acting president-general from 1945 to 1946 while Xuma was abroad. During this period Champion exerted a conservative influence on the ANC. Through this conservatism and circumspection, as well as his Zulu particularism, but especially his authoritarian style, he brought upon himself the anger of the militant and influential ANC Youth League. Consequently the league played a prominent role in his defeat against A.J. Luthuli* (later president-general of the ANC) for the Natal presidency in 1951.

After 1951 Champion concentrated on local advisory board politics, urban Bantu councils, and his numerous business affairs which included the running of a general store in Chesterville township in Durban and a mail order herb business. Many of his political initiatives in the late 1950s and early 1960s were aimed at securing the business interests of an emerging African middle class. He also became closely involved with prominent African entrepreneurs such as E.T. Tshabalala on the Witwatersrand. Champion was an influential and conservative figure who strove for the consolidation of Zulu nationalism; from 1935 he was virtually constantly involved in attempting to ally himself with the Zulu monarchy. He was a proponent of Zulu self-government in terms of the Promotion of Bantu Self Government Act of 1959. By 1961 he was serving on the Zulu king Cyprian KaDinuzulu's* Urban Royal Council in

Durban.

Although Champion was regarded as militant during the 1920s and 1930s he was a pragmatist who held the opinion that Africans had to increase their struggle against white domination gradually and that they had to utilize all structures in this process. He furthermore believed that Africans must gain economic and money power and wield this to gain political power. Nevertheless, the younger and more militant Africans condemned him as an opportunist and sympathizer with apartheid. It was, however, Champion's complex personality which damaged his prestige most. He was a domineering, wily and fiery egoist who alienated people. He was often described as a 'loner', a difficult colleague who was at the same time unco-operative, quarrelsome and impulsive. Yet he always spoke out strongly against the tyranny, humiliation and discrimination that affected all blacks. His longevity meant that he was increasingly out of step with the times and political developments while his Zulu particularism strongly contrasted with the Africanism of the post-1945 period. Consequently little was left of his former prestige and influence at the time of his death.

Among his numerous publications are the pamphlets *The truth about the ICU* (Durban, 1927?), *Champion, Kadalie, Dube: three names* (Durban, 1928?), *Mehlomadala: my experiences in the ICU* (Durban, 1929) and *Blood and tears: history of Durban native riots* (Durban, 1929). In the 1960s he handled a column in the *Ilanga lase Natal*. Some of these articles were later published under the editorship of M.W. Swanson as *The views of Mahlathi* (Durban, 1982).

Champion was married twice—in 1924 to Rhoda Dhlamini who died in 1942 and in 1949 to Constance Gumede, the daughter of J.T. Gumede. From these marriages respectively six daughters and a son, and two daughters and a son were born.

Library of the University of South Africa, Pretoria: A.W.G. Champion collection; — Library of the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg: A.W.G. Champion collection; — P. WALSH, *The rise of African Nationalism in South Africa: the African National Congress, 1912-1952*. London, 1970; — Obituary: *The Zulu Voice* (supplement to *Ilanga lase Natal*), 4 October 1975; — T. KARIS & G.M. CARTER (eds), *From protest to challenge: a documentary history of African politics in South Africa, 1882-1964. 4. Political profiles, 1882-1964*. Stanford, 1977; — P.L. WICKINS, *The Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of Africa*. Cape Town, 1979; — M.W. SWANSON (ed.), *The views of Mahlathi: writings of A. W. G. Champion, a black South African*. Durban, 1982; — S. MARKS, *The ambiguities of dependence in South Africa: class, nationalism, and state in twentieth-century Natal*. Johannesburg, 1986; — H. BRADFORD, *A taste of freedom: the ICU in rural South Africa, 1924-1930*. Johannesburg, 1987; — P. LA HAUSSA, 'The message of warriors: the ICU, the labouring poor and the making of a popular political culture in Durban, 1925-1930'. In: P. BONNER *et al.* (eds), *Holding their ground: class, locality and culture in 19th and 20th century South Africa*. Johannesburg, 1989; — S.M. DU RAND, *From mission school to Bantu education: a history of Adams College*. M.A. thesis. University of Natal, 1990; — *Makers of modern Africa: profiles in history*. 2nd ed. London, 1991.

CHRISTIAN, Africo (fl. c.1737-1756), a Khoikhoi clan leader, probably of the Hessequa. Nothing is known of his early life, but by 1737 he was a wagon driver for the military cattle post of the Dutch East India Company at Zoetemelksvlei (Soetemelksvlei)—sometimes referred to as Zoetendalsvlei—on Zondereind River (River Sonderend or Riviersondereinde), called *Kannakamkanna* by the Khoikhoi.

In September 1737 Christian and a member of his clan, Kibido (or Kybbodo), transported the missionary Georg Schmidt* of the Moravian Church from the settlement at the Cape to the cattle post where Schmidt was to begin missionary work among the Khoikhoi. He immediately settled at Christian's dwelling-place at Hartebeestekraal (Oaks) approximately half an hour on foot from Zoetemelksvlei. According to Schmidt Christian was the only Khoikhoi in the region who had a permanent dwelling. Here Schmidt helped Christian with crop cultivation. Christian, who understood Dutch, served as interpreter for Schmidt. On 27 October 1737 Schmidt formally began teaching Christian, probably from a Dutch ABC Book. Christian's example was soon followed by members of his clan. By November 1737 Schmidt reported that Christian had begun questioning him about aspects of the Christian faith.

It would appear that Christian and his clan members soon identified with the missionary venture. In April 1738 they were persuaded by Schmidt to move further away from the cattle post which Schmidt considered to have a decadent influence. They now settled in a valley, Baviaanskloof, near Sergeants River. Here, at what would later become Genadendal, Christian built himself a clay hut, planted fruit trees, cultivated vegetables and wheat, and built more permanent kraals for his cattle. By 1739 he also possessed horses; Schmidt borrowed one on occasion to go about his task.

With a few men from the valley, Christian was commissioned in August 1739 to join the Botha commando for service on the northern border as conflict between the trekboers, Khoikhoi, San, bands of freebooters and deserters of the Dutch East India Company increased. In the vicinity of the present Nieuwoudtville one of Christian's men was killed in a skirmish with the Khoikhoi. After his release from commando duties Christian apparently identified strongly with the colonial order and voluntarily participated in attempts to check Khoikhoi resistance in the Overberg.

Christian's relationship with Schmidt was not always harmonious, one of the reasons being Schmidt's aversion to the use of alcohol and tobacco, and another reason possibly being the mistrust of the Europeans who tended to exploit the Khoikhoi. At the new settlement at Baviaanskloof Christian realized by April 1741 that Schmidt had a stronger hold over his former clan members than he himself did. This made Christian a more compliant follower of Schmidt and hastened Christian's conversion to Christianity. On 2 April 1742 he became the first person to be christened at Baviaanskloof. The changing of his name from Africo to Christian that was effected there, points on the one hand to a break with the old and the acceptance of a new life and world-view; on the other hand it probably revered the founder of the Herrnhutter religious community in Saxony, Germany, namely Christian David.

The christening of Christian and four other Khoikhoi upset the colonists and

church officials. On several occasions the Rev. F. lee Sueur* tested Christian and Willem Josua on their knowledge of the Christian faith. Their ability to read from the New Testament and their knowledge of the Bible surprised everybody. Schmidt was nevertheless prohibited from serving the sacraments, although he was allowed to continue his missionary work. This prohibition and Schmidt's loneliness finally made him decide in October 1743 to return to Herrnhut in Germany. He left his estate and missionary flock in the care of Christian. By 1756 most of the original group had moved away with the exception of Christian and one Jonas. Both of them died about that time, probably from the smallpox epidemic that swept through the region. The missionary work at Baviaanskloof was only resumed in January 1793.

Christian was married to Chamas. It is not known how many children he had though reference is made in Schmidt's diary to several daughters and at least one son. When missionary work was resumed in 1793 a granddaughter of his was found to be among those who still cherished the memory of Georg Schmidt.

No portrayal of him could be found.

J.D. SCHREUDER, *Die opvoedkundige bedrywighede van die Morawiese Broederkerk onder die kleurlinge in Suid-Afrika, 1737-1743; 1792-1950*. D.Ed. thesis. Potchefstroom University for CHE, 1951; — B. KRÜGER, *The pear tree blossoms: the history of the Moravian Church in South Africa, 1737-1869*. Genadendal, 1966; — H.C. BREDEKAMP & J.L. HATTINGH (eds), *Das Tagebuch und die Briefe von Georg Schmidt, dem ersten Missionar in Südafrika, 1737-1744 = Dagboek en briewe van George Schmidt, eerste sendeling in Suid-Afrika, 1737-1744*. Bellville, 1981; — P.J. RABIE, *'n Sosiaal-strukturele ontleding van gedragsspatrone in Genadendal*. D.Litt. et Phil. thesis. Universiteit van Stellenbosch, 1984; — I. BALIE, *Die geskiedenis van Genadendal, 1737-1988*. Kaapstad & Johannesburg, 1988; — H.C. BREDEKAMP, *Die verhouding tussen Africo Christian en George Schmidt, 1737-1744*. *Historia*, 33(1), Mei 1988.

CILLIÉ, Martha Helena (*Wellington, 22 April 1866—†Somerset West, 16 March 1966), teacher and headmistress, was the daughter of Charl Daniel Cillié and his wife, Martha Helena Marais. G.G. Cillié*, one of the ten children in the family, became the first rector of the University of Stellenbosch, while another, P.J. Cillié*, made a valuable contribution to the development of fruit cultivation in South Africa.



Cillié grew up on the farm Rhebokskloof and initially attended M.J. Stucki's* school at Blauwvallei. She subsequently attended the Wellington Huguenot Ladies' Seminary, where she later also completed her training as a teacher.

Her teaching career began at Blauwvallei in 1888, when she temporarily stood in for someone else; in 1890 she held a similar post at this school. In 1891 she was appointed to teach Latin and Dutch at the Paarl Huguenot Ladies' Seminary, a sister school of the Wellington Huguenot Ladies' Seminary, which had been established on 25 February of the

previous year with Miss V.L. Pride as its first headmistress. During Miss Pride's leave of absence in 1894 Cillié was appointed acting head. When Miss Pride returned Cillié became vice-headmistress of the school. On 1 April 1899 she became the school's first Afrikaans-speaking headmistress.

Meanwhile consideration was being given to the possibility of placing the school under the administration of a board of trustees. However, since Cillié objected to the fact that the name of the school would be changed, this matter was not resolved until 1912, when the school property was transferred to a Paarl board of trustees on which Cillié also had a seat. At the same time she forwarded a proposal that the school be renamed the La Rochelle Girls' High School. In September 1921 she retired from her position as headmistress, but continued to serve the school as head of the hostel until the end of 1923.

Cillié's greatest achievement was her contribution to the education of girls and to teacher training over a period of more than 30 years. In her charge the La Rochelle Girls' High School became one of the most reputable schools for girls in South Africa. It was also during her period of service as headmistress of this school that the training of teachers at Paarl became a reality. This training was initially provided separately at Paarl Girls' High School and La Rochelle Girls' High School in accordance with the pupil-teacher system until the Central Training School was established in 1913, mainly as a result of Cillié's enthusiasm and foresight. She was one of the first committee members of the school—a position which she held for many years—and served on the local school board from the time of its inception in 1906 until her retirement. She also served her community in other spheres and was chairperson of the Noorder-Paarl branch of the Afrikaanse Christelike Vrouevereniging (Afrikaans Christian women's society) for many years.

Cillié spent her retirement at Stille Waters, Somerset West. She died shortly before her hundredth birthday. On her retirement in 1921 the school was presented with a painting of her, done in oils by George Crosland Robinson*. The school library, which she opened on her ninetieth birthday, bears her name.

M.J. STUCKI, *Die skool op Blauwvallei en my werk aldaar*. Stellenbosch, 1935; — J.A.S. OBERHOLSTER, *'n Driekwart-eeu van Gods liefde: Noorder-Paarl 1875-1950: 'n oorsig van die geskiedenis van die Nederduitse Gereformeerde gemeente*. Paarl, 1950; — W.A. JOUBERT, *Die Paarl, 1657-1952: sy ontstaan en groei*. Paarl, 1952; — *La Rochelle Paarl, 1860-1960*. Paarl, 1960; — J.M.L. FRANCK, *Onderwys in die Paarl gedurende die 19de eeu, 1804-1905*. D.Ed. thesis. University of Stellenbosch, 1964; — Obituary: *Die Burger*, 17 March 1966; — C.G. DE VRIES, *Die Opleidingskollege Paarl, 1913-1963*. Paarl, [196-].

CLOW, Sydney John (*Acton, Middlesex, England, 14 January 1883—†Johannesburg, 12 June 1970), a pioneer of the motor car industry, was the son of John Clow.

Clow was educated at Kenmont Gardens, Chelsea, and while an apprentice and journeyman studied engineering part-time at the Science and Art School, South Kensington. In 1900 he came to South Africa to join his father in Queenstown, and was employed by the Cape Government Railways. During the



South African War (1899-1902) he served with the Cape Colonial Forces. In 1905 he went to the Transvaal as an engineer on the New Comet Mine, and while there saw the trading potential of the motor car.

In 1907 Clow returned to England to work and study for a year at Coventry where motor cars were being produced. In 1913 he founded Sydney Clow & Company Ltd in Johannesburg, importing cars for sale and repairing them. He held various franchises, but it was the distribution of Chrysler products from 1924 which formed the basis of his business success. In 1932 he merged with the Atkinson-Oates organization and successfully weathered the Depression.

Clow believed in "doing some good in the world", and the merger enabled him to become more involved with principally the labour affairs of the motor car industry. With unselfish devotion, integrity and wise leadership, and with a courteous manner concealing great firmness and tenacity, he was for nearly 40 years a stable thread running through the motor car industry. He occupied every post of distinction it had to offer, including the presidency of both the South African Motor Trade Association and the South African Motor Industry Employers' Association.

He was especially interested in the industrial organization of the industry, harmonious labour relations and the improvement of working conditions, and played an important part in the 1930s in overcoming the resistance of some employers to a trade union. He was the first motor trader in the Transvaal to indenture his apprentices systematically, and strongly advocated the thorough training in South Africa of qualified artisans to meet the industry's increasing demands. Clow was largely responsible for the establishment of the Transvaal Motor Engineering Apprenticeship Committee. When the government appointed him to the National Apprenticeship Board to represent industrial employers in 1944, he became responsible for the system of indenturing and training apprentices for the motor car industry. His interest in technical training also led to his membership of the Witwatersrand Technical College from 1935 to 1966. Upon the formation of the National Apprenticeship Committee for the Motor Industry in 1953, he was appointed chairperson. In 1951 he became the first president of the National Industrial Council for the Motor Industry.

During the Second World War (1939-1945) Clow joined the staff of the Director General of Supplies in May 1940, and between September 1943 and August 1945 served as deputy director of War Supplies in the Mechanical Transport Production Department. He succeeded in putting 34 000 army vehicles of 80 types into the field, and the government acknowledged his contribution to the war effort. He then served as national chairperson of the Demobilization Advisory Committee of the Motor Industry, and in June 1947 Gen. J.C. Smuts* appointed him to the London Immigrants Selection Committee to recruit skilled British artisans for the understaffed motor car industry. Clow had always interested himself in immigration, and was an executive

member of the 1820 Settlers' Association (Transvaal area).

It was a tribute to Clow that the motor car industry was reluctant to release him from his numerous offices, and he continued to serve until his late seventies. He received many honours, though he particularly valued the King George V Silver Jubilee Medal (1935) and the Queen Elizabeth II Coronation Medal (1953), both awarded on the recommendation of the South African government for service to the community. He was also elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts in 1935.

Despite his public service Clow was a modest man and disliked publicity. For relaxation he did gardening and collected paintings, mainly by South African artists. He was a keen soccer player in his youth. As a lover of horse-racing he was a member of the Johannesburg Turf Club since 1935, and head executive steward of the Jockey Club of South Africa (1954–1965), serving particularly on the Licensing Committee. His interest in the turf and the motor car industry led to his presidency of the Witwatersrand Agricultural Society (1951–1953). He was a familiar figure at the Rand Club, where he lunched regularly.

In April 1918 Clow married Margaret Sanderson Butchart and had a son and a daughter.

South African who's who, 1933–1958; — *Who's who of Southern Africa*, 1959–1970; — *The MTA bulletin*, October 1951; — *The South African Motor Trade Association bulletin*, 33(1), January 1953; — *The automobile*, October 1957; — *Evening Post Supplement*, 21 October 1961; — *The Star*, 6 March 1963; — *The Automobile in Southern Africa*, June 1963; — Obituaries: *The Star*, 12 June 1970; *The Rand Daily Mail*, 13 June 1970; — Private information: Mr S.J. Clow (son), Johannesburg, Sydney Clow collection.

COREE (*probably Table Bay region, c.1580—†Western Cape, 1626), Khoikhoi leader, pioneer trader and the earliest indigene whose name is found in written records. He appears to have belonged to an important family among the Gorachouqua, a group of herders who lived as nomads in the vicinity of Table Bay. At the time of the Dutch settlement in 1652 the chief of the Gorachouqua was Chora (or Choro), which may also have been Coree's true name. (Variations in the spelling of Coree's name include Xhoré, Corey, Corie, Khorí, Quore and Chora.)

Ships passing the Cape towards the end of the sixteenth century traded livestock from the Khoikhoi for a little iron—in 1591 an ox could be traded for two knives. The iron was used for the tips of the Khoikhoi assegais. By 1610 this flourishing trade suddenly stopped, probably because the iron market was glutted. Copper, used for the making of ornaments, came to be demanded instead. As copper was rated higher than iron the price of livestock rose sharply. The rising demands of the Khoikhoi caused problems for the sailors since copper was not readily available on the ships.

Coree undoubtedly also traded with the passing sailors and in May 1613 he and another Khoikhoi were abducted and taken aboard the 300-ton *Hector*, an East Indiaman bound for England. The purpose of such abductions was to teach the men English, question them about the Cape, and impress them with the

advantages of European trade. The man abducted with Coree died on the voyage.

Coree lodged in the London home of Sir Thomas Smythe, governor of the English East India Company. Smythe was prominent in England's mercantile affairs. He had a hand in several chartered companies, invested his personal fortune in voyages of exploration, and served for a time as special emissary to the Russian tsar. Smythe evidently arranged for Coree to be well clothed, housed and fed, and presented him with armour and brass ornaments. He failed, however, to reconcile Coree to exile: "all this contented him not ... when he had learned a little of our language, he would daily lie upon the ground, and cry very often thus in broken English, 'Coree home go, Souldania go, home go'". (Souldania or Saldania was originally the area today known as Table Bay, though some maps indicate it as the region between the Olifants and Breede rivers.)

In June 1614 Coree was returned to Table Bay. It was noted that the Khoikhoi who brought livestock to trade at once began to demand brass and the British suspected Coree of having told the Khoikhoi of the metal—an act they regarded as ingratitude after all the kindness they had shown him! Coree promptly disappeared and, on this occasion, was not seen again. Subsequently it was observed that he preferred the Khoikhoi dress of sheepskin to his English clothes.

In October 1614 an English mariner complained that the Khoikhoi "demanded unreasonably for their Cattell, which we thought proceeded from Corie, who had been in England". A few months later Coree was friendly to another English crew, showing them his village which consisted of around 100 "smale Cottages". He bartered a "great abundance" of sheep and cattle for copper. By 1617 the attitude of the Khoikhoi had changed. It was alleged that the Dutch had frightened them by forcing their way into the country and seizing livestock. "Coree & his hellish crew" withdrew and ships had difficulty getting any animals at all.

A year after Coree had returned, a party of English convicts ('Newgate men') was set ashore and left at the Cape. Much speculation surrounds the relationship between Coree's Khoikhoi and these men, few of whom survived. Evidently the Khoikhoi were at first alarmed to find that Europeans might settle among them. But, shortly after, Coree attempted to enlist these well-armed men as Gorachouqua allies in their wars—a strategy later adopted by other Khoikhoi leaders.

The practice of enticing or forcing indigenes to visit European centres of trade was widespread, and other African examples have been documented. Coree was the first of three Khoikhoi who were selected for exposure to a distant market centre (the others were Herry* and Doman*). His status before his abduction is obscure but thereafter he appears to have been a leader and key actor in the livestock barter. In Richard Elphick's words, it is "conceivable that his authority among Khoikhoi derived ... from his influence with Europeans".

European perceptions of the indigenes depended by and large upon the satisfaction they derived from the all-important barter with the Khoikhoi. When

results were disappointing, Coree was therefore targeted for blame. Despite evidence of other causes, he was regarded as the sole cause of the spoiled trade because he altered the Khoikhoi's scale of values with regard to European goods and kept livestock suppliers away. Coree's experience exemplifies the difficulties faced by early indigene leaders who had to decide between coming up to the expectations of powerful outsiders and the interests of their own communities.

Coree had two or more wives and a number of children. On one occasion, it is said, he spoke of taking a son to England should he himself return. Coree is thought to have been killed in a clash with the Dutch in 1626 after refusing to give them food.

No portrayal of him could be found.

J. COPE, *King of the Hottentots*. Cape Town, 1967; — R. RAVEN-HART, *Before van Riebeeck: callers at South Africa from 1488 to 1652*. Cape Town, 1967; — R. ELPHICK, *Khoikhoi and the founding of White South Africa*. Johannesburg, 1985.

CORNELIUS, Johanna Catharina Jacoba (*Lichtenburg, 27 February



1912—†Johannesburg, 21 June 1974), full-time organizer and general secretary of the Garment Workers' Union, and **CORNELIUS, Hester Elizabeth** (*Lichtenburg, 5 April 1907—†Honeydew, Johannesburg, 15 August 1978), national organizer and branch secretary of the Garment Workers' Union, were two of the nine children of Pieter Johannes Cornelius and his wife Anna Debora Conradie (nee Moller).



The sisters were brought up on a smallholding in the Western Transvaal. A strong sense of Afrikaner nationalism pervaded the family. Their father and grandfather had fought on the Boer side in the South African War (1899–1902) and their mother had been held in a concentration camp. In the 1914 Afrikaner Rebellion their father joined the local commando and upon his return home he castigated the children for learning English in his absence.

Impoverishment in the rural areas in the late 1920s prompted Johanna and Hester to leave the farm and seek employment in Johannesburg. In November 1930 they started working in a clothing factory, Johanna as a machinist and Hester as a table-hand. Apparently Hester was dismissed at some stage and returned to the farm for a few months until she found employment again. In Vrededorp the sisters shared a room with two other women, the Vogel sisters.

When Johanna and Hester entered the clothing industry the white women workers, who constituted the overwhelming majority of the workers in the

industry in the Transvaal, were being organized into the Garment Workers' Union (GWU) by Emil Solomon (Solly) Sachs*. The sisters were very impressed with the way Sachs dealt with workers' grievances and joined the trade union. Soon Johanna became fully involved in union activities and was arrested in September 1932 in Germiston during a general strike in the industry. Upon her release she addressed the crowd which had gathered outside the prison. Wearing her school blazer from Lichtenburg she called on the clothing workers to fight for a living wage and for freedom, as their forefathers had done in the Great Trek and the South African War. This casting of the national sentiments of the Afrikaner in terms of a class struggle rather than a national struggle was a dominant feature of the sisters' approach to Afrikaner nationalism in the 1930s and 1940s.

The GWU was defeated in the strike of 1932: the four largest factories delivered an ultimatum that unless striking workers returned to work they would be replaced. For fear of losing their jobs, most workers did return to work. Furthermore, the workers had to accept a ten percent wage reduction. However, in the years that followed a new, stronger union was born. Afrikaner workers in the clothing industry constituted the vast majority of the workforce, and some of them, like Johanna and Hester, assumed leadership positions under the tutelage of Sachs. Hester was elected to the union's executive in 1934. Johanna, who spent a month in the Soviet Union in 1933 as trade union delegate, became full-time organizer in 1934 and the following year she was elected president for a two-year period. The union opened an office in Germiston which Hester managed. Through constituting a union that was controlled by and represented its members, the union successfully fought the clothing bosses, securing higher wages, shorter working hours (from 52 hours in 1928 to 40 hours in 1948) and a closed shop agreement in 1935.

In 1938 the Nasionale Raad van Trustees (formed in 1936 by Albert Hertzog*, P.J. Meyer* and other Afrikaner nationalists set up by the Afrikaner Broederbond to counteract the influence of trade unionism) attempted to take over the leadership of the GWU. Johanna was accused of being a communist accomplice of Sachs, and of spending all her time organizing black workers. The strong organizational structure of the union and the visible attainment of material benefits enabled Johanna and Sachs to ward off the accusations.

Hester played a major role in the defence of the union by organizing cultural activities which used Afrikaner symbols and experiences to convey class struggle. Both sisters wrote several plays, poems and songs in which the class struggle and the struggle of the workers were portrayed. In her play *Die offerande* (The sacrifice) Hester portrayed the conflict between rich and poor and extolled the virtues of the Soviet Union as a workers' paradise and urged workers to overthrow the capitalist system in order to achieve such a paradise. The unfinished play *Broers* (Brothers) described the conflict and division in a family where two opposing ideologies, socialism and fascism, were represented. The plays *Eendrag* (Unity) by Hester and *Drie spioene* (Three spies) by Johanna both dealt with the struggle of women workers in the factories.

Hester and Johanna did not limit themselves to organizing clothing workers in the Transvaal. When the Transvaal GWU attempted to establish a more

dynamic rival to what was considered the tame and ineffective Cape Province GWU, the Cornelius sisters were sent down to Cape Town in February 1936 to lend their experience to the picket lines. They organized meetings, made speeches, flaunted the police and ensured that scabs were given a rough time. Hester was arrested three times during the strike. Although the strike was largely a failure and was called off in March, the solidarity and enthusiasm that it generated stirred up Cape Town's workers and laid the foundations for further attempts at unionization in the city.

The Cornelius sisters also imparted their organizational experience to workers in other sectors. Johanna was instrumental in founding the National Union of Cigarette and Tobacco Workers in 1938. In 1942 Hester assisted the sweetworkers who were on strike and for a time she was national secretary of the Sweetworkers' Union. Johanna was on the executive of the Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA) from its inception in 1955. The support the Cornelius sisters had among white workers did not, however, transform itself into political support. In the 1943 general election Johanna was a candidate for Sachs's Independent Labour Party in Germiston. Hester assisted in the campaign and they hoped that the workers in the area would support Johanna, but she obtained only 202 votes in a constituency where there were approximately 1 500 garment workers registered (2,6 percent of the votes cast). The seat was won by A.C. Payne of the Labour Party with 4 134 votes (52,8 percent of votes cast).

After Sachs was banned in 1952 and went into exile Johanna was elected general secretary, with a majority of 9 291 votes over her opponent. She kept this position until her death in 1974. In the 1960s Hester became GWU national organizer and editor of the union magazine *Garment worker/Saamtrek*.

These were difficult times for the GWU and the Cornelius sisters. Under Johanna's leadership real wages fell and the GWU lost much of its militancy. Black workers entered the clothing industry and clothing bosses used the opportunity to pay lower wages. The black women workers were members of the GWU, albeit in a separate branch. This enabled the GWU to fight against undercutting. However, once the government prohibited racially mixed unions under the Native Labour Act (1953), their bargaining position was undermined. The GWU was forced to agree to two sets of wages: the B reduced scale for new employees (who were mainly black) and the A scale for seasoned workers. Lower wages in border industries near the so-called Bantustans, also frustrated the bargaining position of the union.

The left-wing trade unions, who were part of the African National Congress (ANC) aligned South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), increasingly criticized Johanna and the GWU for accepting government promulgations and not showing more defiance. While this criticism is largely true, Johanna nonetheless displayed a strong sense of social justice and was at the forefront of the protest against the government's attempts to introduce job reservation into the clothing industry. On 4 November 1957 she assisted in organizing a stayaway, forcing some 300 clothing factories to stay shut for the day. In the 1960s the real wages of garment workers fell further. By the time Johanna died and Hester had resigned from the union (1974) some wages were close to 1928

levels.

With the death of Hester in 1978 the *Garment worker/Saamtrek* mourned the passing of the Cornelius era. It was an era which had started off with displays of militancy, strong organization and the securing of worker demands. It ended, however, with garment workers being among the worst paid of women workers in South Africa.

Both sisters married, did not have children of their own, and both were divorced. Hester married John Peter de Freitas and Johanna married Fritz Heinz Fellner.

Transvaal Archives, Pretoria: Estate no. 3570/52; Estate no. 7464/74; Estate no. 10802/78; — Library of the Human Sciences Research Council, Pretoria: Baptismal Registers: Ned. Herv. of Geref. Gemeente Lichtenburg, 1904-1920; — E.S. SACHS, *Garment workers in action*. Johannesburg, 1957; — I.L. WALKER & B. WEINBREN, *2000 casualties: a history of the trade unions and the labour movement in the Union of South Africa*. Johannesburg, 1961; — Interview with J. Cornelius, supplied by S. Greenberg. Yale, [1974?]; — Obituaries: *Garment Worker/Saamtrek*, 28 June 1974 & 5 July 1974; *The Star*, 21 June 1974; *The Rand Daily Mail*, 22 June 1974; *Die Transvaler*, 22 June 1974; *Garment Worker/Saamtrek*, 25 August 1978; — H. BOLTON, Tribute to a fighter. *South African labour bulletin*, 1(3), June 1974; — R.M. IMRIE, *A wealth of people: the story of the Trade Union Council of South Africa*. Johannesburg, 1979; — LABOUR HISTORY GROUP, *Garment workers unite*. Cape Town, 1983; — M. NICOL, *A history of garment and tailoring workers in Cape Town, 1900-1937*. Ph.D. thesis. University of Cape Town, 1984; — L. WITZ, *Servant of the workers: Solly Sachs and the Garment Workers' Union, 1928-1952*. M.A. thesis. University of the Witwatersrand, 1984; — E. BRINK, Plays, poetry and production: the literature of the garment workers. *South African labour bulletin*, 9(8), July 1984; — L. WITZ, A case of schizophrenia: the rise and fall of the Independent Labour Party. In: B. BOZZOLI (ed.), *Class, community and conflict: South African perspectives*. Johannesburg, 1987; — I. BERGER, Solidarity fragmented: garment workers of the Transvaal, 1930-1960. In: S. MARKS & S. TRAPIDO (eds), *The politics of race, class and nationalism in twentieth century South Africa*. London, 1987; — I. BERGER, *Threads of solidarity: women in South African industry, 1900-1980*. London, 1992.

CRESSY, Harold (*Rorkes Drift, 1 February 1889—†Kimberley, 23 August



1916), educationist and teacher, was one of five children born to Bernard and Mary Cressy of Melmoth, Natal. Cressy received his primary education at a Roman Catholic mission school. In 1897, at the age of eight, Cressy was sent to school in Cape Town. He displayed considerable leadership qualities during his youth and graduated from Zonnebloem College in Cape Town in 1905 with the T.3 certificate, the basic professional qualification for teachers.

The following year (1906) Cressy took up the principalship of the Dutch Reformed Church mission school at Clanwilliam at the youthful age of seventeen. Cressy's experience of the inequities of the Cape's segregated education system in Clanwilliam instilled in him a lifelong commitment to

improve the educational facilities available to the coloured community. While at Clanwilliam he obtained the matriculation certificate through part-time study in 1907 and the intermediate B.A. certificate the following year.

Cressy was awarded a bursary by the education department to continue his studies at Rhodes University College, Grahamstown. Despite having accepted his written application the college refused him entry on account of his colour upon his arrival in Grahamstown in February 1909. Cressy's subsequent application to Victoria College at Stellenbosch (University of Stellenbosch) was rejected on the same grounds. When his application was being considered by the South African College (University of Cape Town) in Cape Town, where it caused considerable controversy, Dr Abdullah Abdurahman*, president of the African Political Organization (APO), heard of the young man's plight and used his influence as Cape Town city councillor to pressurize the college into enrolling Cressy.

Despite the ill health that dogged him for much of his adult life and the racial prejudice he endured as the only black student on the campus, Cressy graduated with a B.A. degree at the end of 1910. He immediately became somewhat of a celebrity among the coloured educated elite as the first of them to have obtained a bachelor's degree. After completing his studies Cressy taught at the St Philip's Primary School in Cape Town and became involved with the activities of the Cape Town branch of the APO. Despite being taken under the wing of Abdurahman as a young talent to be nurtured Cressy displayed little interest in the hurly-burly of protest politics and preferred to focus his energy on the improvement of coloured education.

In 1912 he was appointed principal of the Trafalgar Second Class Public School. Established in 1910, Trafalgar was one of only two schools in South Africa to offer coloured education at secondary level. This appointment was an extraordinary accomplishment for one barely 22 years old. When he took up the post, Trafalgar was suffering such severe problems that the education department seriously considered closing it. Cressy tackled the problems with such resourcefulness that the school regained its erstwhile reputation. He was also at the forefront of the APO's struggle to have the school provided with suitable accommodation. At the time Trafalgar was housed in a run-down cottage and rooms rented from a nearby church. After five years of petitioning the authorities, the city council was finally prevailed upon to donate a site, and the Cape School Board to vote £3 000 for a new building.

Cressy continued to study privately and obtained the T.2 certificate, a higher qualification, as well as the School Music Certificate in 1912. In the meantime, feeling the need to foster coloured educational advancement at a more fundamental level, Cressy, with the encouragement of Abdurahman, took the lead in establishing a coloured teachers' association, the Teachers' League of South Africa (TLSA). He hoped that the League would be able to effect a thorough reform of coloured education and help to ameliorate the exceptionally poor service conditions under which the coloured teaching profession laboured. As the chief organizer within the founding group Cressy was elected president of the TLSA upon its inauguration in June 1913 and became the first editor of its organ, the *Educational journal*.

Just as work started on the new building for his beloved Trafalgar School in mid-March 1916, Cressy fell victim to a severe bout of pneumonia. On medical advice he temporarily moved to Kimberley where he passed away unexpectedly on 23 August 1916 at the age of 27.

Throughout his life Cressy had to swim against the current and his achievements were realized in the face of formidable obstacles. Hardly a more apt motto could therefore have been chosen for the school named in his honour: 'Volenti nihil difficile' (To those who are willing nothing is difficult).

In September 1912 Cressy married Caroline Hartog and out of the marriage a daughter, Millicent, was born. Cressy's widow died shortly after him in October 1918 in the Great Influenza Epidemic.

Master of the Supreme Court, Cape Town: vol. 6/9/831, file 2110; vol. 13/1/2768, file 221; vol. 14/2/157, file 166; — *APO*, 11 February 1911; — Obituaries: *Diamond Fields Advertiser*, 26 August 1916; *Education gazette*, 31 August 1916; *South African College magazine*, September 1916; *Educational journal*, October 1916; — *Die Banier*, Maart 1962; — M. ADHIKARI, *Against the current: a biography of Harold Cressy, 1889–1916*. Cape Town, 1990.

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DADOO, Yusuf Mohamed (Mota) (*Krugersdorp, 5 September 1909—



†London, England, 19 September 1983), a medical doctor and politician, was the son of a retailer, Mohamed Mamoojee Dadoo, who emigrated from Kholvad in India to South Africa in the 1880s.

He received his primary education at the Krugersdorp Coloured School and then proceeded to the Newtown Indian Government School in Johannesburg. After matriculating at Aligarh College in India in 1927, Dadoo went to London, England, to study medicine. Within a few months he was arrested for participating in political demonstrations. In an attempt to curb his political activities, his father had him transferred to Edinburgh in Scotland, where he

completed his studies. At this time he started reading Marxist literature, but only entered the political arena in real earnest when he returned to South Africa in 1936. Soon he was a leader of the opposition against the moderate leadership in the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) and by 1938 became a founder member and first secretary of the Non-European United Front (NEUF). From the start he attempted to establish a nonracial alliance against the government's oppressive legislation. In 1939 he also became a member of the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA, South African Communist Party (SACP) after 1953).

After the outbreak of the Second World War (1939–1945) the CPSA and NEUF actively opposed South Africa's participation. Dadoo, as one of the spokespersons, described the war as "an imperialistic war, and therefore an unjust war". He was twice arrested for allegedly inciting the people against the government. With the entry of the USSR into the war in 1941 the CPSA felt that the character of the war had changed and that South Africa's participation could be now justified. With Moses Kotane* Dadoo had to advocate this new stance.

During the 1940s Dadoo played a leading part in various political campaigns. He was involved with the bus boycott by Alexandra residents in 1944; the CPSA and African National Congress (ANC) national anti-pass campaign of 1944 to 1946; the African miners' strike of 1946; and the passive resistance of the South African Indians that commenced in 1946. Dadoo was also elected

as president of the TIC and as the Transvaal leader of the Indian Passive Resistance Council in 1946. At this stage he was already chairperson of the Johannesburg District Committee of the CPSA and a member of the Central Committee of the CPSA.

Dadoo, Dr G.M. Naicker* (president of the Natal Indian Congress) and Dr A.B. Xuma* (president of the ANC) issued a joint statement, the so-called Doctors' Pact, in March 1947 in which they stressed the co-operation of all blacks with a view to gaining political rights. Later in 1947 Dadoo and Naicker went to India to enlist support for South African Indians' opposition to restrictive legislation. In 1948 Dadoo was elected president of the South African Indian Council (SAIC). Subsequently he went abroad again—this time to attend the session of the United Nations in France.

Dadoo was actively involved with the country-wide resistance to the removal of the coloureds from the joint voters' role in the Cape Province in 1951. In the same year he was elected as a member of the Joint Planning Council of the Defiance Campaign which was aimed at unfair legislation and which commenced in 1952. A month prior to this Dadoo and three other leaders were ordered by the authorities to resign from all organizations and they were banned from attending meetings. Dadoo ignored the ban and continued to address meetings, upon which he was arrested. He was released only to be rearrested in August 1952. He received a suspended prison sentence.

Dadoo was increasingly subjected to restrictions in 1953. He was elected as a member of the newly founded Central Committee of the SACP. As a result of the restrictions imposed upon him he could not attend the Congress of the People in June 1955. Out of recognition for the role he played in establishing a multiracial alliance against apartheid the honorary title *Isitwalandwe* (a title once bestowed upon Xhosa heroes for exceptional courage and service and by the ANC upon a hero of the national liberation struggle) was bestowed on him *in absentia* at this meeting.

With the declaration of a state of emergency and the banning of the ANC and the Pan-Africanist Congress by the government in April 1960, Dadoo escaped through Bechuanaland (Botswana) to London. At the request of the SACP and the SAIC Dadoo organized international support for and solidarity with the struggle against apartheid. Consequently he acted on a broad front, amongst others as representative of the ANC which he joined in 1969 after ANC membership had been opened for all races. In the same year he became vice-chairperson of the ANC's Political-Military Council. In 1972 he was elected as national chairperson of the SACP. He was also a member of the presidential committee of the World Peace Council and received various orders and decorations, especially from East Block countries.

Dadoo, whose popular nickname was Doc, was married thrice: first to Ilsa, then to Maryam and lastly to Winnie—the first two marriages ended in divorce. He had two daughters, one from Ilsa and one from Winnie. Dadoo died from cancer in a London hospital a few days after his seventy-fourth birthday. He was survived by his wife Winnie and his two daughters. His funeral in the Highgate Cemetery was accompanied by various speeches and political songs. In South Africa the government prohibited gatherings intended to honour

Dadoo posthumously.

Library of the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg: Xuma collection; — Library of the University of South Africa, Pretoria: South African Political Materials: Carter-Karis microfilm; — R. SEGAL, *Political Africa: a who's who of personalities and parties*. London, 1961; — E. ROUX, *Time longer than rope: a history of the black man's struggle for freedom in South Africa*. 2nd ed. Madison, 1964; — P. WALSH, *The rise of African nationalism in South Africa: the African National Congress, 1912-1952*. London, 1970; — T. KARIS & O.M. CARTER (eds), *From protest to challenge: a documentary history of African politics in South Africa, 1882-1964*. 4 vols. Stanford, 1972-1977; — Editorial: Yusuf Dadoo, 70th birthday. *Sechaba*, September 1979; — Dr Dadoo: the nation salutes you. *Sechaba*, September 1979; — T. LODGE, *Black politics in South Africa since 1945*. Johannesburg, 1983; — J. & R. SIMONS, *Class and colour in South Africa, 1850-1950*. London, 1983; — Landmarks in a life of struggle. *The African communist*, 96(First Quarter), 1984; — Tributes: *The African communist*, 96(First Quarter), 1984; — E.S. REDDY (comp.), *Dr Yusuf Mohamed Dadoo: his speeches, articles and correspondence with Mahatma Gandhi, 1939-1983*. Durban & Bellville, 1991; — *Makers of modern Africa: profiles in history*. 2nd ed. London, 1991.

DAVIES, Joan Hoskyn (*Robben Island, 2 December 1909—†Cape Town, 6 January 1984), archivist and the first woman to become head of an archives depot, was one of the three children of Thomas Sidney Davies, who was a medical doctor on Robben Island at the time of her birth, and his wife Helen Low Davies.



She attended the Robben Island Public School as well as schools in Sea Point and King William's Town. After that she obtained the B.A. degree at Rhodes University, Grahamstown. Having taught English for two years at Kokstad she started working as an assistant at the Cape Archives Depot in July 1935. There she was much influenced by the enthusiasm and dedication of Dr C. Graham Botha*,

head of the South African Archives Service, and the man who laid the foundation for the preservation and care of the South African documentary heritage.

After having obtained the M.A. degree with a dissertation entitled *Palgrave in Damaraland* which appeared in the *Archives year book for South African history*, 5(2), 1942 Davies was transferred to Pretoria in 1944 when the head office of the archives service was moved there. Initially she was attached to the Transvaal Archives Depot but in 1957 she was appointed as first head of the newly established Liaison Department of the archives service.

This section was initially responsible for the selection of archives. However, in 1960 it took over the function, previously performed by the Public Service Commission, of advising government departments about filing systems. The many challenges and problems created by the new function were overcome and the groundwork was done for what was to become one of the most important components of the archives service.

In 1962 Davies became archivist for source research in England. Her brief was to locate nineteenth century documents, photographs and maps and arrange

to have them microfilmed. These were then to be made available for research in South Africa. The large collection of microfilms of British documents and other material which subsequently became available in South African archives depots is proof of the diligence with which she performed her functions.

In 1966 Davies was appointed as head of the Cape Archives Depot, a post she held until her retirement in 1974.

In addition to her official duties Davies played a prominent role in different societies. She was a member of the executive of the Society of Civil Servants from 1946 to 1959, a member of the society's central women's committee for eleven years and chairperson of that committee from 1957 to 1959. She was a founder member of the Society of Archivists and a member of its executive for a number of years. In Pretoria and in London she was an active member of the women's society of the Church of the Province of South Africa. She also served as a committee member of the Pretoria Historical Society for a number of years.

Davies was the first woman to be appointed as an archivist in South Africa since women were previously not promoted beyond the rank of archival assistant. She was also the first woman to become head of an archives depot.

Her love of history and the dedication with which she performed her various responsibilities left a permanent legacy to the archives service and historical researchers alike.

Master of the Supreme Court, Cape Town: Estate no. 652/84; — J.H. MIENIE, Miss J.H. Davies. *South African archives journal*, 15, 1975; — Private information: Head, Transvaal Archives Depot, Pretoria; Manager-in-chief of the Society of Civil Servants, Pretoria.

DE VILLIERS, Anna Johanna Dorothea (*Saxenburg, near Kuilsrivier, Stellenbosch district, 24 December 1900—†Stellenbosch, 1 November 1979), lexicographer, author and educationist. She was the eldest of the six daughters and two sons of George Jacob de Villiers and his wife Anna Johanna Jacoba Bester.



She received her first teaching from a private tutor and after four years went to the Kuilsrivier Primary School where she stayed for three years. After that she attended the Bloemhof Girls' High School in Stellenbosch where she matriculated in 1918. Proceeding to the University of Stellenbosch, she obtained the B.A. degree in 1921, and the M.A. degree and the Higher Secondary Teachers'

Diploma in 1924.

After graduating, she taught for eighteen months at Oudtshoorn. She was then appointed for six months to the staff of *Die Afrikaanse woordeboek* (Afrikaans dictionary) (later called *Woordeboek van die Afrikaanse taal*) under the editorship of Prof. J.J. Smith*. In 1930 she entered the civil service as a translator at the Department of Statistics in Pretoria. Simultaneously she started on the D.Litt. degree which she obtained in 1934 with a thesis entitled *Die Hol-*

landse Taalbeweging in Suid-Afrika (The Dutch language movement in South Africa).

De Villiers subsequently accepted a post as lecturer in Afrikaans at the Pretoria Technical College. After that she was lecturer in social history at the University of Pretoria for a year. In 1940 she returned to the Cape when she was appointed principal of the Huguenot University College in Wellington, the first and only woman to hold this position. She remained there until the college was closed down in 1950.

From 1951 until her retirement in 1966 De Villiers was a member of the editorial staff of the *Woordeboek van die Afrikaanse taal* (WAT) (Dictionary of the Afrikaans language) in Stellenbosch, and became the first woman to be appointed co-editor of the WAT. She was especially interested in words of socio-historical relevance and words from the various female milieus.

De Villiers visited overseas countries on several occasions. In June 1948 she was a delegate to the Congress of Universities of the Commonwealth in Britain. The following year (1949) she undertook postdoctoral studies at the universities of Gent and Leiden in the Netherlands. During an international language conference in Amsterdam, the Netherlands, in 1963 she presented a paper on place names used by the Voortrekkers. In 1967 she lectured on the WAT in Bucharest, Rumania.

De Villiers served on the management body of the University of South Africa. She was also a member of several other organizations, *inter alia* the Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns (South African Academy for Arts and Science) (since 1943), which she represented in the Afrikaans Language Monument Committee; the Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde (Society for Dutch literature) in Leiden, the Netherlands; the Suid-Afrikaanse Taalbond; the Cape Town branch of the Simon van der Stel Foundation; and the Stellenbosch branch of the Afrikaanse Skrywerskring. De Villiers was a founder member of both the Stellenbosch Heemkring (conservation society) and the Stellenbosch branch of the South African Association for University Women of which she was president for many years.

She published several novels and historical books and articles. Her interest in cultural history was reflected in her literary material. Characterization and character development in her works were often dominated by detailed descriptions of the historical background. She nevertheless tried to capture the habits, customs, morals and spirit of the era, and especially the role of women. Examples of her novels are *Sterker as die noodlot* (Cape Town, 1930) which could be regarded as autobiographical and which described the problems of urbanization and professional women; *Die wit kraai* (Bloemfontein, 1938) related the experiences of the Voortrekker scout Hans Dons (Johan Hendrik de Lange*); and *Hercule de Près* (Cape Town, 1947) which depicted the settlement of the French Huguenots at the Cape.

Her short biographical sketches of South African women of historical importance were published, amongst others, in *Vrouegallery* (Cape Town, 1972). Her radio talks on customs were also published in, for example *Volksgebruike uit vervloë dae* (Johannesburg, 1965). She also contributed to other publications, such as *Dictionary of South African biography*, and

published journal articles. A list of her most important publications appears in Snijman (*infra*).

During her stay in London in 1948 she was awarded an honorary doctorate of law by the University of London. In 1971 during a visit to the United States of America (USA), the Mount Holyoke Female Seminary in Massachusetts made De Villiers an honorary alumna in appreciation for her work at the Huguenot University College. (The American seminary served as model for the original Huguenot Seminary established in 1874.) In the early 1970s the Afrikaanse Skrywerskring made her an honorary member as a tribute to her many contributions to the Afrikaans language and literature.

After her retirement she remained in Stellenbosch, where she died and was buried. She was described as a happy but dynamic person who believed that the intellectual and moral level of a country was to a great extent determined by women. Her optimism was best reflected in the words of a character in one of her novels: "Life is too short to allow one to be unhappy".

She never married.

Biographical note: Dr Anna de Villiers. *The bluestocking*, 17(2), November 1948; — P.J. NIENABER, *Hier is ons skrywers! Biografiese sketse van Afrikaanse skrywers*. 1. Johannesburg, 1949; — Vroue in die hoër onderwys: [dr. Anna de Villiers]. In: C.P. VAN DER MERWE & C.F. ALBERTYN (eds), *Die vrou*. 2. Kaapstad, [1970?]; — G. DEKKER, *Afrikaanse literatuurgeskiedenis*. Kaapstad, [1972]; — Honours and awards: [Dr Anna de Villiers]. *The bluestocking*, 30(11), April 1973; — Obituaries: *Die Burger*, 5 November 1979; *Die Matieland*, (3), Desember 1979; *The bluestocking*, 31(6), 1980; — Tributes: Hulle het die US onthou. *Die Matieland*, (3), Desember 1980; F.J. SNIJMAN, Anna Johanna Dorothea de Villiers ... *Jaarboek de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde te Leiden*, 1982–1983.

DUNJWA, Jeremiah (fl. c.1913–1930), interpreter, teacher and politician. He



was born in Beaufort West towards the end of the nineteenth century, and was educated at Healdtown Institution, a Methodist boarding school near Fort Beaufort in the Eastern Cape. He first worked as interpreter in the Cape Supreme Court before going to Johannesburg in 1904. In 1908 he joined the teaching staff of the Klipspruit government school (Pimville Primary School in Soweto), which at the time was the only government school for African people in the Transvaal. In 1913 Dunjwa joined the staff of the *Abantu Batho* newspaper and became its Xhosa editor. Whilst editor he visited the mines incognito to see for himself the conditions of the

black miners underground. This enabled him to write first-hand reports in his newspaper about alleged atrocities perpetrated by white mine bosses against black miners underground.

Through his involvement in civic matters he became an organizer and leader of the African people. He was a member of the South African Native National Congress (SANNC, since 1923 the African National Congress (ANC)). In 1919

he was an organizer of the anti-pass demonstrations on the Witwatersrand. Dunjwa was secretary of the Transvaal ANC, and in the early 1920s he was secretary-general of the ANC.

Dunjwa was actively involved in the affairs of Pimville where he was a resident. In the early days of Pimville township—founded in 1904 as Klipspruit and renamed Pimville in 1934, after James Howard Pim* who was deputy mayor of Johannesburg in 1903—the railway line from Johannesburg to the African residential areas south of Johannesburg went as far as Nancefield railway station. Dunjwa and other leading members of the community made representations to the government to have the railroad extended from the Nancefield railway station terminus to Pimville. After much prodding the request of the Pimville residents was acceded to and the railroad was extended from the Nancefield station to Pimville. This came as a great relief to them as they had to cover the distance between Pimville and Nancefield station on foot. Dunjwa was also an active member of the Pimville Advisory Board.

Dunjwa was married to Emily Kaiyane. They had four sons and two daughters. He died in Pimville, Soweto, in 1935.

T.D.M. SKOTA (ed.), *The African who's who: an illustrated classified register and national biographical dictionary of the Africans in the Transvaal*. 3rd ed., rev. & enl. [Johannesburg, 1965]; — T. KARIS & G.M. CARTER (eds), *From protest to challenge: a documentary history of African politics in South Africa, 1882-1964*. 1. *Protest and hope, 1882-1934*. Stanford, 1972; — T. KARIS & G.M. CARTER (eds), *From protest to challenge: a documentary history of African politics in South Africa, 1882-1964*. 4. *Political profiles, 1882-1964*. Stanford, 1977; — Private information: Nobantu Dunjwa (daughter), Soweto.

E

ERASMUS, Barend Jacobus (Ben) (*Vredefort, 29 December 1918—†Johannesburg, 22 December 1973), trade unionist, was the sixth child of Barend Jacobus Gerrit Wessel Erasmus and his wife Susara Catharina Elizabeth Horak. His father was a businessman and farmer and owned the first butchery in Parys. (Sources differ as to Erasmus's place of birth.)



Erasmus grew up on the Lichtenburg alluvial diamond diggings where he did some digging on his own account during his school holidays. He attended Zeerust High School where he was a prefect and captain of the school rugby team in his matric year (1936). However, the depression of the 1930s forced him to leave school in that year and

seek employment.

In June 1936 Erasmus was employed by the Johannesburg Municipal Transport Service to scrub trams and buses. He progressed to the position of conductor and soon became involved with the affairs of the Johannesburg Municipal Transport Workers' Union (JMTWU). He greatly admired the fight that Johannes Jacobus (Jan) Venter*, JMTWU president, put up for transport workers. On 23 June 1943 Erasmus was elected to the executive of the union, one of the youngest in the history of the union to be honoured in this way. In 1946 he was made a senior trustee and in 1949 he became president when Venter became general secretary. Erasmus remained president for the next 20 years until he stepped down in 1969 to become organizer for the JMTWU.

On Venter's death in 1953 Erasmus succeeded him as general secretary of the Johannesburg Municipal Workers' Union (JMWU), a position he retained for 20 years. Over the years Erasmus achieved several gains for JMWU members. He obtained longer sick leave privileges at Arbitration Court proceedings and in 1956 he negotiated a 40 percent consolidation of cost of living allowance for all municipal employees. This was increased to 100 percent in 1961. At the same time he negotiated a small increase in wages for transport workers. It was also due to him that staff buses were provided to take late-shift workers home. He won the right for JMTWU members to withdraw money to their credit in the provident fund after 25 years' service, and contribution to the pension fund. Other gains were the right to accumulate for

an indefinite period sick leave to which they were entitled and to be paid out for a proportion of this on retirement. He persuaded the city council to raise wages and to allow the accumulation of up to 20 weeks' leave after five years' service. As chairperson of the Johannesburg Municipal Benefit Society he was able to look after members' interests.

In the general transport union arena Erasmus played an important part, being a member of the South African Council of Transport Workers (SACTW) from 1948, serving as treasurer for four years, vice-chairperson for five years, and being elected president in 1960. At the time of his death in 1973 Erasmus was still a member of the executive of SACTW. He was prominent in the wider trade union field, serving on the national executive committee of the South African Trades and Labour Council (SATLC) from 1949. When the SATLC dissolved in 1953, he was the acting treasurer. After that he served on the Unity Committee that led to the formation of the Trades Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA) in Durban in October 1954, was a member of its national executive committee from its formation in 1954, was elected a trustee in 1963 and served on the Officers' Committee. In 1967 he was one of a delegation of six from TUCSA who met the Minister of Labour, Marais Viljoen, in an effort to persuade the government to recognize black trade unions.

Erasmus was a keen sportsman, being particularly interested in rugby, which had been a lifelong passion since his school days, and in gymnastics. He was a founder member of the Johannesburg Municipal Sports Club, later becoming vice-president of its gymnastics section, and helped to found the rugby section for which he played and of which he later became president. From 1945 he was actively involved in the Transvaal Rugby Football Union and at the time of his death was a member of the Special Tribunal, the body dealing with disciplinary measures at club and provincial level.

Erasmus was a man of great energy and drive, a big man in both character and physique, with a cheerful and pleasant disposition. His unselfish fight for the underprivileged made him a much revered figure in the trade union movement.

In 1943 Erasmus married Magdalena Pelser and they had two sons and one daughter. After they were divorced in 1964, he married Cynthia Francis Snyman in 1967 and they had one daughter.

Master of the Supreme Court, Pretoria: Estate no. 6387/74; — Library of the Human Sciences Research Council, Pretoria: Copies of baptismal registers of the Orange Free State Dutch Reformed congregations; — Library of the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg: Trade Union Council of South Africa records; A.M. CUNNINGHAM, *Records of the Trade Union Council of South Africa. Part II: 1955-1986* (Library of the University of the Witwatersrand, Historical and literary papers: Inventories of collections, 14); — I.L. WALKER & B. WEINBREN, *2000 casualties: a history of the trade unions and the labour movement in the Union of South Africa*. Johannesburg, 1961; — Obituaries: *The Rand Daily Mail*, 24 December 1973; *The Star*, 24 December 1973; *Transport*, 29(1), January/February 1974; — R.M. IMRIE, *A wealth of people: the story of the Trade Union Council of South Africa*, Johannesburg, 1979; — Private information: Mrs M. Erasmus (first wife), Pretoria; Mrs C. Erasmus (surviving spouse), Johannesburg; Mrs K. Erasmus (sister), Johannesburg.

ESAU, Abraham (*Kenhardt, Cape Colony, 12 September 1864—†Calvinia, Cape Colony, 5 February 1901), artisan and martyr of the South African War (1899–1902), was the son of Adam Esau and his wife, Martha April. His parents lived and worked as labourers and servants in villages and on farms in several districts in the northwestern Cape Colony, including Kenhardt and Carnarvon.



During a lengthy period in the service of a paternalist English farmer in the 1870s, the coloured Esau family absorbed the colonial British culture, and developed a distinctly anglicized tone which differentiated them socially from other Dutch-Afrikaans-speaking rural working-class people. Growing up in this milieu of social self-improvement, Abraham Esau was soon known locally as a young coloured who was strongly attached to his cultivated English (or 'Englische') cultural and political identity.

After completing some Methodist mission schooling in Prieska, Esau first worked as a carpenter in Kenhardt and neighbouring localities. Towards the end of the 1880s he moved to Calvinia where, in addition to working as an independent blacksmith, he established himself as a haulier. Here, through his petty property ownership, his entitlement to the Cape Colony's nonracial franchise, and his belief in the citizenship rights entrenched in Cape political liberalism, Esau came to embody the essential characteristics of the literate coloured artisanry of the later nineteenth century Cape Colony. Like many other Cape coloured and African people, he became an ardent devotee of the British imperial presence in South Africa. By the 1890s the enterprising, articulate and lively Esau had become a notable figure among the coloured population of Calvinia.

It was as a result of the South African War that Esau entered history as an individual of stature. Armed hostilities between Britain and the Boer Republics rapidly became critical and decisive in his life. By 1900, the expansion of commando warfare into the Cape Colony was a growing menace to the lives, labour and possessions of black civilians. A siege atmosphere enveloped Calvinia, and its coloured inhabitants became intensely anti-Republican and pro-British. At the forefront of this mood was the energetic and influential Esau, who used his considerable abilities as an orator to rally the villagers against the Republican forces and to try to organize armed resistance. In September and October 1900, Esau and his associates tried to persuade the local resident magistrate, Peter Dreyer, to arm coloured civilians to enable them to defend themselves. This plea was refused because of official policy that the war was to be a conflict involving only whites.

A dismayed and angry Esau, his life now wholly intertwined with the local struggles of the South African War, immediately sought means of aiding the British imperial cause. Journeying to Clanwilliam, he entered into a private spying arrangement with Lieutenant James Preston, the special military secret agent of the British Army's Namaqualand Field Force. As trusted individual

Esau had little difficulty in recruiting a shadowy band of men and women followers. Based in Calvinia from November 1900, he organized his recruits into a secret and disciplined intelligence gathering body which supplied information through Preston to the Namaqualand Field Force Intelligence Department. As one who knew the Calvinia region and its people like the back of his hand, Esau worked as an inventive and effective intelligence agent, sifting through and storing reports on Boer rebel suspects brought in by his spies and informers.

With the defence of Calvinia always a crucial consideration, he anticipated that in return for his loyal service, imperial forces would be ready to protect the settlement against any incursion by Boer guerrillas. His hope, however, proved futile.

No one knew better than Esau himself that his pro-British scheming and intriguing was known and had earned him the enmity of surrounding alienated Boer colonists. Local Republican forces also regarded him as a troublesome coloured leader who opposed the Boer cause, while being a prominent British collaborator. Early in January 1901, an Orange Free State commando took Calvinia without ado and pacified its hostile population. Not surprisingly, Esau was singled out for retribution by the Boer commandant, Charles Niewoudt, who had issued an arrest warrant before the occupation. Esau was swiftly hunted down and imprisoned. His captors tried to force from him information about his intelligence network and resistance preparations, and demanded that he disown his British allegiance. Esau would not acquiesce. His intransigent character, freeborn mentality and absolute obsession with defending the local community as a British asset, made it unthinkable for him to betray his allegiance.

Esau's brazen defiance clearly incensed the Niewoudt commando. As a standing challenge to the occupying Republican authority he had to be eliminated. Therefore, after being beaten by Niewoudt's men, he was dragged to the outskirts of Calvinia where, on 5 February 1901, he was shot dead by a Stephanus Strydom. Esau's corpse was then brought back to the village where scores of mourners came to view the blacksmith who had stood up for them and paid with his life. After the commando's withdrawal the following day, he was buried with British Army honours.

Although Esau's killing was a fairly minor incident in the war, his life and wartime conduct became invested with the politically significant meaning of martyrdom. His death grew into a *cause célèbre*, providing a symbol of coloured loyalty to the British colonial cause. Official recognition of Esau came from the British High Commissioner, Sir Alfred Milner*, Cape politicians, and from the Anglican Church in Calvinia, which commemorated him in the Abraham Esau Memorial Chapel. In contemporary Namaqualand he is still remembered as a martyr of the South African War in different oral traditions and folk memory. It was his impact in that war which gave historical importance to his life and achievements.

Telegram from Sir Alfred Milner to the Secretary of State for War, Relating to the Reported Outrage on Esau at Calvinia: *British parliamentary papers*, Cd. 464, 1901; — *The Cape*

Times Weekly, 13 March 1901; — *Lloyds Weekly Newspaper*, 20 February 1901; — C.J. SCHEEPERS STRYDOM, *Kaapland en die Tweede Vryheidsoorlog*. Kaapstad, 1937; — B. NASSON, These natives think this war to be their own: reflections on blacks in the Cape Colony and the South African War, 1899-1902. In: *The societies of Southern Africa in the 19th and 20th centuries. Vol. II*. London, 1981. (Institute of Commonwealth Studies. Collected seminar papers, no. 27); — P. WARWICK, *Black people and the South African War, 1899-1902*. Cambridge, 1983; — W.R. NASSON & J.M.M. JOHN, Abraham Esau: a Calvinia martyr in the Anglo-Boer War. *Social dynamics*, 11(1), 1985; — K. SCHOEMAN, Die dood van Abraham Esau: ooggetuieberigte uit die besette Calvinia, 1901. *Quarterly bulletin of the South African Library*, 40(2), 1985; — I. GOLDIN, *Making race: the politics and economics of coloured identity in South Africa*. Cape Town, 1987; — B. NASSON, The war of Abraham Esau, 1899-1901: martyrdom, myth and folk memory in Calvinia, South Africa. *African affairs*, 87(347), 1988; — B. NASSON, Abraham Esau's war, 1899-1901: martyrdom, myth and folk memory in Calvinia, South Africa. In: R. SAMUEL & P. THOMPSON (eds), *The myths we live by*. London & New York, 1990; — B. NASSON, *Abraham Esau's war: a black South African war in the Cape, 1899-1902*. Cambridge & Cape Town, 1991.

F

FINCKEN, Mary Eveline (*Hoyland, Yorkshire, England, 27 April 1882—†Cape Town, 15 June 1955), singer (contralto), teacher of singing and educationist, was the eldest daughter of Christopher William Fincken and his wife. She was born of a musical family. Her grandfather and his sons were amateur organ builders and musicians; her father was a fine amateur organist. Her mother's family included a number of singers in choral societies in northern England, one of her aunts being a singing teacher.



She attended school at Sheffield and Manchester where she distinguished herself as a talented singer. At the age of seventeen, in 1899, she won a gold medal at an eisteddfod in Manchester and this made her decide on a singing career. In 1903 she was appointed assistant teacher at Gunnusbury High School in London. In the same year she won a scholarship to study singing at the Royal Academy of Music (RAM), obtaining the LRAM (Licentiate of the Royal Academy of Music) in 1905. In the same year she made her debut in a concert with the Queen's Hall Orchestra conducted by Henry Wood. A series of engagements in London and other parts of England followed, including a performance as soloist in *Elijah*. She also obtained an appointment as singing mistress at Wentworth Hall, a ladies' finishing school.

The English climate was seriously affecting Fincken's health, however, and she was advised to visit South Africa. She arrived in 1908 and eventually decided to settle here. Shortly after her arrival in 1908 she sang in the Cape Town City Hall. Later she also sang in other major centres in the interior, such as Bloemfontein which she visited in October and November 1911.

In Cape Town Fincken was one of the first staff members of the South African College of Music. When the college was incorporated into the South African College (University of Cape Town) in 1912, she was appointed senior lecturer in singing. Among her distinguished pupils were Cecilia Wessels*, Jessie Sonnenberg and Albina Bini.

She devoted herself increasingly to education, arranging music education tours under the aegis of the Education Department, and later also university extension courses in music which were coupled with concert tours to various Cape centres. From the proceeds of these concerts she established the first

overseas scholarships for students at the college.

Closely linked to her educational work was the Melodic Society which she founded in 1911 and of which she was the life president, as well as the Eveline Fincken Ladies' Choir which she created and conducted. She was also a co-founder of the Women's Business and Efficiency Club. In recognition of her advancement of a musical culture in South Africa, the RAM conferred on her an honorary ARAM (Associate of the Royal Academy of Music) in 1920. She was a member of the New Education Fellowship, as well as a member of the South African Society of Music Teachers for which she organized the music section during the World Conference in South Africa in 1932.

When her health started failing Fincken retired from the college in 1935. Before returning to England she gave a farewell concert in the Cape Town City Hall. In London she opened two hostels, called the Clarendon Clubs, for overseas students. These hostels were, however, bombed during the Second World War (1939–1945). She returned to South Africa in 1943 and resumed teaching singing, revived her ladies' choir and arranged concerts.

She bequeathed her collection of music to the black section of the Cape Town Public Library. The South African Broadcasting Corporation paid tribute to her pioneering work as an artist of the microphone from 1924 when broadcasting started in the Cape.

W.H.K., *The arts in South Africa*. Durban, [1934]; — South African Society of Music Teachers: members' directory. *The South African music teacher*, 41, December 1951; — The Eveline Fincken Vocal Library Foundation. *The South African music teacher*, 41, December 1951; — Obituaries: *The Cape Argus*, 15 June 1955; *The Star*, 15 June 1955; — In memoriam. *The South African music teacher*, 49, December 1955; — J.P. MALAN (ed.), *South African music encyclopedia*, 2. Cape Town, 1982.

FIRST, Heloise Ruth (*Johannesburg, 4 May 1925—†Maputo, Mozambique, 17 August 1982), journalist, academic and political activist, was the daughter of Jewish immigrants Julius and Matilda First. Julius, a furniture manufacturer, was born in Latvia and came to South Africa in 1906. He and his wife were founder members of the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA, South African Communist Party (SACP) after 1953). Ruth and her brother, Ronald, grew up in a household in which intense political debate between people of all races and classes was always present.



After matriculating from Jeppe High School for Girls, First attended the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, from 1942 to 1946, obtaining a B.A. (Social Studies) with firsts in sociology, anthropology, economic history and native administration. Her fellow students included Nelson Mandela, Eduardo Mondlane (Mozambican freedom fighter and the first leader of FRELIMO), Joe Slovo, J.N. Singh (executive member of both the Natal and South African Indian

Congress), and Ismail Meer (a former secretary-general of the South African Indian Congress). First helped found the Federation of Progressive Students and served as secretary to the Young Communist League, the Progressive Youth Council and, for a short while, the Johannesburg branch of the CPSA.

In 1947 First worked, briefly, for the Johannesburg City Council, but left because she could not agree with the actions of the council. She then became Johannesburg editor of the left-wing weekly newspaper, *The Guardian*. As a journalist she specialized in exposé reporting and her incisive articles about slave-like conditions on Bethal potato farms, the women's anti-pass campaign, migrant labour, bus boycotts and slum conditions remain among the finest pieces of social and labour journalism of the 1950s.

Having grown up in a political aware home, First's political involvement never abated. Apart from the activities already mentioned, she did support work for the 1946 mineworkers' strike, the Indian Passive Resistance campaign and protests surrounding the outlawing of communism in 1950. First was a Marxist with a wide internationalist perspective. She travelled to China, the USSR and countries in Africa, experiences which she documented and analyzed. She was central to debates within the Johannesburg Discussion Club which led to the formation of the underground SACP (of which First was a member) and to closer links between the SACP and the African National Congress (ANC).

In 1953 First helped found the Congress of Democrats, the white wing of the Congress Alliance, and she took over as editor of *Fighting talk*, a journal supporting the alliance. She was on the drafting committee of the Freedom Charter, but was unable to attend the Congress of the People at Kliptown in 1955 because of a banning order. In 1956 both First and her husband, Joe Slovo, were arrested and charged with treason. The trial lasted four years after which all 156 accused were acquitted.

First considered herself to be primarily a labour reporter, and during the 1950s she was producing up to fifteen stories a week. Despite this high work rate, her writing remained vivid, accurate and often controversial. Her investigative journalism was the basis of her longer pamphlets and, later, her books. The transition to more complex writing came easily.

During the state of emergency following the Sharpeville shootings of March 1960 First fled to Swaziland with her children, returning after the emergency was lifted six months later to continue as Johannesburg editor of *New Age* (successor to *The Guardian*). In the following two years she wrote *South West Africa*, a book which remains the most incisive history of early Namibia. During this time she helped to organize the first broadcasts of Radio Freedom from a mobile transmitter in Johannesburg. In 1963 First was detained following arrests of members of the underground ANC, the SACP and Umkhonto we Sizwe in Rivonia. In the trial which followed, political leaders such as Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Govan Mbeki were sentenced to life imprisonment. However, First was not among the accused. She was detained in solitary confinement under the notorious 90-day clause, during which she attempted suicide. Her father fled South Africa and soon after her release First also left with her children to join her husband, who had already

fled the country, in Britain.

The family settled in North London and First threw herself into anti-apartheid politics, holding talks, seminars and public discussions in support of the ANC and SACP. Her book *117 days*, an account of her arrest and interrogation in 1963, was made into a film with First acting as herself.

During the 1960s First researched and edited Mandela's *No easy walk to freedom* (1967), Mbeki's *The peasant's revolt* (1967) and Oginda Odinga's *Not yet uhuru* (for which she was deported from Kenya). With Ronald Segal she edited *South West Africa: travesty of trust* (1967). From 1973 First lectured for six years at Durham University, England, on the sociology of underdevelopment.

In the 1970s she published *The barrel of a gun: the politics of coups d'etat in Africa* (1970), followed by *Libya: the elusive revolution* (1974), *The Mozambican miner: a study in the export of labour* (1977), and, with others, *The South African connection: Western investment in apartheid* (1972). It was during this time that she read contemporary feminist ideas, work which was to bear fruit in the beautifully crafted biography of Olive Schreiner which she wrote with Anne Scott (1980). Many of these works were landmarks in Marxist academic debate.

In 1977 First was appointed professor and research director of the Centre for African Studies at the Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo, Mozambique. She began work on the lives of migrant labourers, particularly those who worked on the South African gold mines. The results of this study were published as *Black gold: the Mozambican miner* (1983).

Following a UNESCO conference at the centre in 1982, First was killed by a letter bomb widely believed to have originated from military sources within South Africa. Until her death she remained a 'listed' communist and could not be quoted in South Africa. Her close friend, Ronald Segal, described her death as "the final act of censorship". Her funeral in Maputo was attended by presidents, members of parliament and ambassadors from 34 countries.

In 1949 First married Joe Slovo, a lawyer and labour organizer and, like her, a communist. Throughout the 1950s their home in Roosevelt Park was an important centre for multiracial political gatherings. They had three daughters: Shawn (who was to script a film about her mother called *A world apart*), Gillian (who based her novel, *Ties of blood*, on her family) and Robyn. Their childhood was constantly unsettled by house searches and the banning and arrest of their parents by the police.

Despite her public profile and wide contacts, First remained a private person. She had a brilliant intellect and did not suffer fools gladly. Her sharp criticism and her impatience with bluster earned her enemies and she was often feared in political debate. But she was not dogmatic. Her willingness to take up a position she considered to be just was not always welcomed within the ANC or SACP. Her shyness, her anxieties, her vulnerable abundance of generosity and love were unsuspected by those who only knew her as confident and commanding in a public context. With friends she was warm and sensitive. She loved good clothes (particularly Italian shoes) and was an excellent cook. However, contradictions between her politics and her role as a mother caused

strains in her family which are evident in the later works of her daughters.

Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London, England: Ruth First Trust collection; — Cory Library for Historical Research, Rhodes University, Grahamstown; — R. SEGAL, *Political Africa: a who's who of personalities and parties*. London, 1961; — T. KARIS & G.M. CARTER (eds), *From protest to challenge: a documentary history of African politics in South Africa, 1882-1964. 4. Political profiles, 1882-1964*. Stanford, 1977; — G. WILLIAMS, Ruth First: a socialist and scholar. Lecture to the African Studies Centre, Boston University, November 1982; — W. KODESH, Ruth First and *New Age*. *Sechaba*, October 1982; — Obituaries: *The annual obituary* (UK), 1982; *Morning Star*, 24 August 1982; *New Society*, 26 August 1982; *Index on Censorship*, (6), 1982; *New Statesman*, 27 August 1982; *Sechaba*, October 1982; *Feminist Review*, Spring 1983; *This Magazine*, December 1983; *Hecate*, 10(1), 1984; — G. MBEKI, *Learning from Robben Island: the prison writings of Govan Mbeki*. London, 1991; — *Makers of modern Africa: profiles in history*. 2nd ed. London, 1991; — D. PINNOCK, *Ruth First: journalist of the left*. (Forthcoming).

FISHER, Percy (*Durham, England, 1891—†Fordsburg, Johannesburg, 14



March 1922), miner and strike leader, was the son of W. Fisher and his wife, Lily Maleham. Little is known about his background, education or training.

Fisher arrived in Cape Town by ship on 1 January 1912 at the age of 20. On reaching the Witwatersrand he found underground employment on the mines, where he soon became involved in trade union activities. From 1914 to 1922 he was a member of the South African Industrial Federation (SAIF).

Early in the 1920s a spirit of defiance took root among the mineworkers, probably because of the activities of the trades representatives' committees.

As the leaders of these committees, Fisher and Ernest Shaw were responsible for instigating the 1920 lightning strike at the City Deep gold mine. Fisher was the secretary of the strike committee and Shaw was its chairperson. Fisher regarded the success of the strike as a victory for the leaders of the smaller unions over the central management of the SAIF and therefore decided to seek election as secretary of the South African Mineworkers' Union (SAMWU). He was elected but was soon forced to resign because of irregularities during the election. His short period in office was marked by serious clashes with the executive of the SAMWU as a result of his preference for direct action rather than reconciliation councils and negotiations as a means of solving industrial disputes. His active attempts at undermining the authority of the union management continued even after the election was declared invalid.

In January 1921 when a shift-boss, T. Langley, was transferred after complaints had been lodged against him, Fisher, Shaw and others formed a strike committee and called a strike. Fisher hoped that this would lead to a general strike involving all the gold mines on the Witwatersrand, which would force the SAMWU to take direct action. On 7 February 1921 miners at ten mines went on strike while Fisher and others held inflammatory meetings all

over the Witwatersrand. However, the SAMWU warned workers against unconstitutional actions and Fisher's campaign gradually began to lose momentum. After succeeding in ending the strike, the SAMWU made an unsuccessful attempt at taking disciplinary action against Fisher. On 24 June 1921 Fisher, supported by other persons with extremist views, established the Action Council of mineworkers in the Johannesburg City Hall for the purpose of keeping an eye on the activities of the SAMWU. Their manifesto clearly indicated their intention to replace the trade union organization with a communist organization and to destroy the capitalist system.

Following the announcement by the Chamber of Mines on 3 January 1922 of its intention to decrease the white labour force by 2 000, Fisher felt convinced that the actual figure would be much higher and promptly began spreading a rumour to this effect. When the strike broke out, Fisher was regarded as the main leader of the revolutionary movement, and under his leadership it was the Action Council and not the SAIF that made the first move. On 10 January 1922 they held the only formal meeting of the entire strike in the Trades Hall and on this occasion joined forces with the SAIF. This was followed on 18 January 1922 by a public meeting of the Action Council outside the Johannesburg City Hall, on which occasion Fisher addressed the strikers.

On the basis of instructions given to the Action Council at public meetings on 5 February 1922, Fisher and a number of other leaders met with members of parliament (MPs) of the National and the Labour parties the following day and requested them to seize control of the state, proclaim a republic and put an end to capitalist rule. However, the MPs were not prepared to take extraparliamentary action and Fisher and his supporters therefore decided to advance the strike more actively.

During the first week of February Fisher visited the rural areas to garner support for the strike, and nearly clashed with the police when he addressed a meeting in Heilbron. Despite measures taken by the police, Fisher announced a march by strikers from Township Hotel to City Deep gold mine which was to take place on 8 February 1922. On the morning of the planned march Fisher, Shaw, H. Spendiff and other strikers were arrested. They appeared in court but were refused bail and were held in custody until 22 February 1922.

By the beginning of March 1922 the strike had become so extensive that the official strike leaders in the enlarged executive of the SAIF started losing control of events. Pressurized by the Chamber of Mines they agreed to a vote among the miners to determine whether or not the strike should be called off. However, Fisher opposed this move and managed to gain the support of the Action Council and the strikers' commandos in preventing it. On 3 March 1922 Fisher and others, including Morris Kentridge*, hoped to make certain proposals to General J.C. Smuts* regarding the ending of the strike, but he refused to meet with them. As a result, the Action Council established an Action Committee. Fisher, who was the driving force behind this committee, was one of the strike leaders. On 6 March 1922 they forced the enlarged executive of the SAIF to call a general strike which was followed by a total collapse of law and order. Fisher was regarded as the main strategist; his

ultimate aim was the overthrow of the government.

Subsequent to the declaration of Martial Law on 10 March 1922 Fisher, who at that stage was known as 'Fisher of Fordsburg', organized and led strike commandos in Fordsburg, Langlaagte, Brixton and Ferreirasdorp. With Spendiff he turned the Central Hall of the Fordsburg market building into a fort. On 14 March 1922 the government forces gained the upper hand in Fordsburg after a number of bloody fights. The bodies of Fisher and Spendiff were found inside Central Hall. Both had died from bullet wounds, but it was never determined whether they had committed suicide or whether they had been fatally wounded during the fighting.

As a leading figure during the strike, Fisher had a particular ability to incite the masses. He was considered an extremist as he maintained close links with the International Socialist League, predecessor of the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA, South African Communist Party (SACP) after 1953).

Although Fisher was never married he did have a relationship with a woman—Christina Avelina Grainger—who was generally known as 'Mrs Fisher'. She was his sole heir.

Transvaal Archives, Pretoria: Estate no. 48481; — *The Star*, 2 February 1923; — J.A.O. COETZEE, *Industrial relations in South Africa*. Cape Town, 1976; — R.K. COPE, *Comrade Bill: the life and times of W.H. Andrews, workers' leader*. Cape Town, 1944; — I.L. WALKER & B. WEINBREN, *2 000 casualties: a history of the trade unions and labour movement in the Union of South Africa*. Johannesburg, 1961; — N. HERD, *1922: the revolt on the Rand*. Johannesburg, 1966; — M.A. DU TOIT, *South African trade unions: history, legislation, policy*. Johannesburg, 1976; — A.G. OBERHOLSTER, *Die mynwerkerstaking 1922*. Pretoria, 1982.

FOURIE, Pierre Jacy (*Malvern, Johannesburg, 26 June 1943—†Maraisburg, 21 June 1980), boxer, and the first white boxer to fight against a black opponent in South Africa, was the son of Petrus Fourie and his Welsh wife, Violet Morris.



Fourie grew up in a poor environment and was only thirteen years old when his father died. The eldest son, Martin, who earned but a meagre income, took over the role of breadwinner of the family.

As a youngster Fourie learnt in numerous street fights to defend himself with his fists. In 1965 he took up boxing under trainer and manager, Alan Toweel, and after a number of amateur fights joined the professional boxing ranks on 2 May 1966. He won his very first fight with a knockout in the first round. The partnership between Fourie and Toweel, one of the most successful in the history of South African boxing, continued throughout the eleven years of Fourie's career as a boxer.

In his 60 professional fights, Fourie distinguished himself as a hard but clean and scientific boxer rather than a rough fighter. He gained 52 victories, in most cases on points, one fight ended in a draw and he was beaten in seven

fighters (of which four were for the world title). In the process he won two South African titles, those of middle and light heavyweight, eventually surrendering both titles without having been defeated. Fourie was knocked down only twice in his career: in 1972 by the Mexican, Amado Vasquez, for a count of eight, and during his last fight on 19 March 1977 when he was knocked out by the heavyweight, Gerrie Coetzee, the only time during his entire career.

Fourie's popularity and fame are mainly the result of his creditable and courageous performances in the altogether 60 rounds of his four fights for the light-heavyweight title of the World Boxing Association against the defending world champions, Bob Foster of the United States of America (USA) and Victor Galindez of Argentina. In each of these four fights over fifteen rounds, Fourie was beaten on points: by Foster on 21 August 1973 in Albuquerque (USA) and on 1 December 1973 in the Rand Stadium; by Galindez on 5 April 1975 at Ellispark (Johannesburg) and on 13 September 1975 in the Rand Stadium. The second fight between Fourie and Foster on 1 December 1973 was the first between a white and black boxer in South Africa and constituted a breakthrough for the removal of racial discrimination in professional boxing. At the time the attendance figure of 37 4704 spectators, the gate money of approximately R500 000, and the guaranteed purse of 200 000 dollars to Foster, were world records for the light-heavyweight division.

Fourie lived with his family on Albuquerque Ranch on the southern outskirts of Johannesburg. Out of the ring he was a gentle man for whom family, friends, the work on the farm and mechanical hobbies were of great importance. He died when his car struck a fence at Cecil Payne Park, Maraisburg.

Fourie married Julia Meintjes in 1962. A son and three daughters were born of the marriage.

C. GREYVENSTEIN, Pierre Fourie: my life of violence. *Topspot*, November 1977–March 1978; — Obituary: *Beeld*, 23 June 1980; — C. GREYVENSTEIN, *The fighters*. Cape Town, 1981; — Private information: Mrs Julia Fourie (wife), Johannesburg.

FRANKS, Esther (*Zürich, Switzerland, 17 May 1900—†Pretoria, 22 June 1972), physician and first woman ophthalmic surgeon to practise in South Africa, and pioneer in the fight against blindness. She was one of six children, three of whom qualified in medicine. Her parents emigrated to South Africa from Russia via England and Switzerland. They landed at Port Elizabeth shortly after Franks was born and then moved to Johannesburg where her father became a draper in Doornfontein.

Franks attended high school in Johannesburg and registered as a medical student at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in 1918. She was elected a member of the first Student Representative

Council of the university. In 1925 she was the second woman to graduate in medicine at the university, Susan Blake being the first only on account of the alphabet. Franks was the first woman ophthalmologist in South Africa. She received her postgraduate training in ophthalmology at the Johannesburg Hospital where she soon became intensely concerned about the social and ocular implications of trachoma. During her training she was daily exposed to many cases of this disease, as well as other causes of curable blindness.

Within a few years she moved to Pretoria and with some friends she opened a small workshop for the blind beggars of that city in 1928. In the same year A.W. Blaxall, missionary secretary of the Anglican Church, started to co-ordinate the work of several small groups in different parts of the country into what was to become the South African National Council for the Blind (SANCB) in 1929.

In the late 1930s Franks became involved with the work of the SANCB. The welfare of blind persons and the many ramifications of welfare work among rural blacks became her main interest, although she ran a busy private practice in Pretoria and was honorary consultant at the Pretoria General Hospital (H.F. Verwoerd Hospital). In 1941 she and Blaxall carried out a small rural survey which confirmed what her brother, Dr Maurice Franks, had found in 1939: there were several aspects of eye disease in rural areas which could either be prevented or remedied if suitable medical care were available. During the Second World War (1939–1945) ophthalmic services were, however, being utilized in other directions, but after the war the urgency of local problems was exposed. A subsidiary of the SANCB was formed to provide medical eye services for the rural areas. Franks was elected to the first committee of this subsidiary, the Bureau for the Prevention of Blindness, as one of two ophthalmologists. In 1952, when the first mobile clinic of the bureau left Pretoria, with the blessing of Mrs Maria Malan, wife of Prime Minister Dr D.F. Malan*, Franks accompanied the unit. She was extremely dedicated and often operated continuously for eighteen hours a day.

In 1971 Franks was awarded the R.W. Bowen medal of the SANCB for her pioneering work in the fight against blindness. Later that year she was adjudged Woman of the Year by the readers of the Johannesburg newspaper *The Star* for her outstanding work in restoring sight to thousands of rural Africans.

Franks married Philip Lapin, a well-known Pretoria attorney, on 4 January 1933. They had no children. She died of a heart attack and was survived by her husband.

Master of the Supreme Court, Pretoria: Estate no. 6006/72; — Personal papers of Esther Franks lent by her nephew Peter Franks; — Records of the South African National Council for the Blind: M. FRANKS, In memoriam: Dr Esther Franks, 1900–1972; — *The Star*, 15 October 1952; — R.W. Bowen Medal citation from the South African Council for the Blind, 1971; — *The Star*, 29 January 1971, 12 November 1971 & 8 December 1971; — She gave them light. *South African Digest*, 7 January 1972; — Obituary: *The Star*, 22 June 1972; *Imfama*, 12(4), August 1972; *South African medical journal*, 46(34), 26 August 1972; — Private information: Medical Library, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

FREUND, Wilhelmina



Louisa Ida (Minna) (*Glücksberg, Schleswig-Holstein, Germany, 17 March 1890—†Bloemfontein, 6 December 1938), actress and teacher of elocution, was the youngest child of John Freund and Metha Mentzel, German immigrants who met in Philippolis and married and settled there in the late 1870s. The family was on a visit to Schleswig-Holstein when Freund was born.

She attended Milburn House, a school for 'young ladies' in Claremont, Cape Town. After that she spent some years in Edinburgh, Scotland. Her schooling completed, she studied under Elsie Fogerty at the Central School of Speech Training and Dramatic Art in London from 1909 to about 1911.

While in London, she befriended Sybil Thorndike and Lewis Casson, who were to visit her in Bloemfontein some 22 years later while on tour with their theatrical company. During her stay in London she appeared at the Albert Hall and the Lyceum Theatre (in the play *Atalanta*) with such notable actors and actresses as Lena Ashwell, F.R. Benson and Herbert Beerbohm Tree.

On returning to South Africa in 1912 she was appointed as teacher of elocution at the South African College of Music in Cape Town—the first person in South Africa with the requisite qualifications for such a post—while also teaching at the Good Hope Seminary, St Cyprian's School, the Wynberg Girls' High School and the Ellersley School for Girls. Shortly after Prof. W.H. Bell* became principal of the college in 1912, he appointed Freund as head of the Department of Speech Training. She organized the courses for teachers of elocution, assisted by Dolly de Marillac and others, and was at the centre of a lively group of amateur and professional actors and actresses who staged a variety of plays at regular intervals in Cape Town in the first quarter of the twentieth century. Among their productions were the fantasy *Prunella, or, Love in a French garden* and *As you like it*, the latter being performed in the garden of Kelvin Grove, a private residence at the time. (This could quite possibly have been the first open-air production of Shakespeare in Cape Town, a forerunner of the now regular Maynardville seasons.) *A midsummer night's dream* was staged at the city hall with an orchestra conducted by Theo Wendt*.

Freund trained the cast for the first production by W.H. Bell of *Everyman* in the old Stal Plein Hotel that originally housed the college. The stage was constructed from ordinary class-room platforms, and *Everyman's* grave was arranged by parting two platforms, the actor playing *Everyman* having to crouch until the end of the performance to remain out of sight. The cast included Pauline de Wet (as *Everyman*), Gladys Lazarus (as *Death*), Johannes Fagan* and William J. Pickerill*. She also assisted Bell in producing his second play, *Hippolytus*, by Euripides. This company of 'Dining Room Players', as they became known, thereafter moved to the Hidding Hall.

During the First World War (1914–1918) Freund organized and took part in various entertainments in aid of the war funds. After the war she undertook a concert tour with Criemhilt Hahn, an accomplished violinist, and Annice

Wright, a pianist. They provided the musical parts of the programme while Freund presented dramatic excerpts from *As you like it* and other Shakespear-ean plays. Their itinerary included Johannesburg, Bloemfontein and Kimberley, as well as such lesser towns of the Orange Free State (OFS) as Brandfort, Koffiefontein, Fauresmith and Philippolis, no doubt because Freund's parents, residents of Luckhoff for many years, were well known in these parts.

After her wedding Freund presented programmes and readings in Bloemfontein for many years. One of her talks was on the concept of a state theatre, possibly the first time this topic was raised in a South African context. In her address she discussed the 'talkies' (cinema) and their influence on the legitimate theatre and referred to a letter she had received from Sybil Thorndike, who mentioned a campaign to establish a state theatre in Britain and spoke about the concept of a 'little theatre'. She saw Cape Town as the appropriate home for a state theatre in South Africa, but did not live to see the creation of the National Theatre Organization in 1950.

In June 1927 she married Christiaan Lourens Botha*, judge president of the OFS. They had two daughters.

Master of the Supreme Court, Bloemfontein: Estate no. 30440; — Central Archives, Pretoria: Theatre collection; — Obituaries: *The Cape Argus*, 6 December 1938; *Die Volksblad*, 6 Desember 1938; *The Star*, 7 December 1938; — J. PACKER, *Pack and follow*. London, 1950; — R. VAN DER GUCHT, *Elocution and speech-training*. In: *Standard encyclopaedia of Southern Africa*, 4. Cape Town, 1971.

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GERSTMAN, Blanche *Wilhelminia* (*Cape Town, 2 April 1910—†Cape Town, 11 August 1973), composer, double bass player, pianist, accompanist and lecturer. She was born of English parents but was brought up by foster parents whose name she adopted at the age of twelve.



She commenced harmony lessons at the age of twelve with C.V.N.G. Hely-Hutchinson*. After she had matriculated at the Good Hope Seminary School in Cape Town, she was awarded a bursary which enabled her to study for a B.Mus. degree at the South African College of Music. Here she was coached in composition by Prof. W.H. Bell* and received piano tuition from Colin Taylor.

At the early age of eighteen Gerstman composed her first significant work, *Hellas*, for female chorus, solo soprano and orchestra. It was performed at the Cape Town City Hall in 1928. In 1930 she received her Teacher's Licentiate Diploma in Music, and in 1932 she became the first student to graduate with a B.Mus. degree from the University of Cape Town.

In about 1936 she was appointed official pianist, accompanist and programme compiler to the South African Broadcasting Corporation. After about ten years of active broadcasting, Gerstman became a lecturer in harmony and counterpoint at the South African College of Music.

With her return to the college she developed an active interest in the double bass. She became a proficient player and a popular principal performer on the double bass in the Cape Town Symphony Orchestra. In 1950 she left the university and accepted the position as principal double bass player in the orchestra. In the same year, however, she won a Performing Rights Society Scholarship of £300 to study musical composition for one year at the Royal Academy of Music in London, England, under Howard Ferguson.

In 1951 she returned to Cape Town and in August that year she resumed her position as principal double bass player in the city orchestra. She remained there until 1961, when she was appointed lecturer in harmony and counterpoint in the Music Department of the University of Pretoria. In 1963 she resigned from this position and joined the Durban Civic Orchestra. She returned to Cape

Town and the South African College of Music as a part-time lecturer in harmony and counterpoint in 1964. Eventually, in 1968, Gerstman resumed her position as double bass player in the Cape Town Municipal Orchestra.

Gerstman's compositions show various stylistic influences and a widely fluctuating standard of artistic achievement. She was characteristically warmly romantic with wilfully dissonant concessions to the twentieth century. Some of her works exhibited a convincing standard of technical finish. It might be of interest to quote her own view of the composer as a person of whom "the essential things ... are a high measure of intelligence, a sensitive and selective self-criticism, a feeling for beauty in all its aspects in nature or humanity, logic, balance, the whole gamut of emotions and, of course, a warm-hearted, all-enveloping love".

The highlights of her compositions were some of her vocal and sacred works, with the Christmas season posing a great attraction for her. The poems she set to music were in German, English and Afrikaans—one of the Afrikaans poems she set to music twice, namely 'Boodskap aan Maria'. She produced excellent orchestrations for ballet, such as *Don Quichotte*. Her compositions are listed in volume two of the *South African music encyclopedia* and in the *International encyclopedia of women composers* (both *infra*).

Gerstman never married and was survived by a brother.

D. DE VILLIERS, Blanche Gerstman: ons grootste Suid-Afrikaanse vrouekomponis. *Huishouding*, 1(2), Januarie 1947; — J. BOUWS, *Suid-Afrikaanse komponiste van vandag en gister*. Kaapstad, 1957; — J.P. MALAN, Blanche Gerstman. (Musiekpersoonlikhede). *Res musicae*, 7(3), June 1961; — J.H. POTGIETER, 'n Analitiese oorsig van die Afrikaanse kunslied met klem op die werke van Neppen, Gerstman, Van Wyk en Du Plessis. D.Mus. thesis. University of Pretoria, 1967; — J. BOUWS, *Komponiste van Suid-Afrika*. Stellenbosch, 1971; — Obituaries: *Die Burger*, 13 Augustus 1973; *The Argus*, 13 August 1973; *Opus*, 5(1), October/November 1973; — C.L. VENTER, *Suid-Afrikaanse klaviermusiek: 'n kultuurhistoriese en stylanalitiese studie*. D.Mus. thesis. Potchefstroom University for CHE, 1977; — J.P. MALAN (ed.), *South African music encyclopedia*, 2. Cape Town, 1982; — H. VAN DER SPUY, 'Nerina', for piano solo (Blanche Gerstman), *Musica*, 8(2), 1980; — A.L. COHEN, *International encyclopedia of women composers*. New York & London, 1981; — M.D. NABARRO, Blanche Gerstman and Rosa Neppen. (South African composers, no. 5). *Scenaria*, (53), June 1985.

GOMAS, John Stephen (*Abbotsdale, Malmesbury district, 8 April 1901—†Cape Town, 25 April 1979), trade unionist and political activist, was the only son of David Gomas and his wife Elizabeth Erasmus. Gomas spent the first ten years of his life at Abbotsdale, an Anglican mission station in the Malmesbury district. He was raised by his mother, his father having abandoned the family while Gomas was but a few years old.

In 1911 his mother moved to Kimberley to improve their prospects for advancement. Gomas attended school, but three years later, with the outbreak of the First World War (1914–1918), he was forced to abandon his schooling to help support the family because the main breadwinner of the household had enlisted with the Cape Corps. After short stints of hawking fruit and vegetables and working as a shop assistant, Gomas entered an apprenticeship at a tailor's



workshop in 1915.

Here Gomas was introduced to the politics of labour by his employer, Myer Gordon, a Russian immigrant and socialist. Having imbibed Gordon's political teachings about the contradictions of capitalism and the exploitation of workers it is not surprising that Gomas was swept up in the social conflict and working-class political action that accompanied the rapid industrialization attendant upon the outbreak of World War I (1914–1918). In 1919 he joined the International Socialist League (ISL),

the South African Native National Council (SANNC, African National Congress (ANC) after 1923), as well as the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU). Towards the end of that year Gomas also had his first taste of industrial action when the ISL established a branch of the Clothing Workers' Industrial Union (CWIU) in Kimberley. In response to a call by this union, tailors at several firms, including those at Gordon's, came out in a successful strike at the end of 1919. These experiences transformed the quiet, bookish youth into a rebel and vociferous champion of workers' rights. Gomas's rebelliousness spilled over into crime and he spent three months in jail during 1920 upon being convicted of burglary and attempting to escape from custody.

Wanting to make a fresh start, Elizabeth and her son moved to Cape Town upon his release from prison. Working privately from home as a tailor, Gomas was also active in the ICU, the ANC and the Tailors' Industrial Union. Attracted by its militancy and mass appeal, he became a full-time organizer for the ICU in 1923 and was elected its provincial secretary for the Western Cape two years later. In addition, Gomas joined the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA, South African Communist Party (SACP) after 1953) in January 1925 and was elected the organization's Cape provincial secretary in December of that year. He subsequently did much to foster communism within the ranks of the ANC, especially after becoming its vice-president for the Western Cape in 1927. Moreover, Gomas was at the forefront of the CPSA's endeavours to organize the fledgeling trade union movement among black workers during the latter half of the 1920s. Recognized as one of the most radical members of the organization, Gomas was expelled from the ICU in a purge of CPSA members in December 1926. During 1927 Gomas served a second three-months' jail sentence after being convicted under the 'racial hostility' clause (no. 29) of the 1927 Native Administration Act. This was his punishment for organizing and addressing a meeting at Paarl to protest the killing of an African and the wounding of another who fled when a white policeman demanded to see their passes.

After his expulsion from the ICU, Gomas worked indefatigably as organizer and recruiter for the CPSA. Although at first opposed to the CPSA's so-called native republic policy because it contradicted orthodox Marxist doctrine, he was won over to it upon reflecting on the upsurge in segregationism in the preceding years and by the persuasion of James la Guma*, a close political ally

he had met in the ICU. This was an important turning point in Gomas's ideological development for he was to become increasingly Africanist in his outlook, insisting that blacks themselves needed to take the initiative in their liberation. The idea of establishing a black republic as an interim step in the attainment of a communist society appealed to the pragmatist in Gomas because he felt it would harness the nationalist aspirations of blacks to the workers' cause and because it justified his co-operation with the reformist ANC. In the process he progressively alienated the white leadership within the CPSA by accusing them of having a condescending attitude towards blacks and not doing enough to promote the emergence of black leaders within the movement.

During the 1930s Gomas was involved in a number of protests and a wide range of radical political activity. Frustrated with the conservatism of the ANC leadership, Gomas together with other radicals such as Bransby Ndoobe and Elliot Tonjeni, formed the Independent ANC (IANC) in 1930 with a view to conducting a more militant campaign against white supremacism. The IANC had considerable success in organizing workers in both urban and rural areas of the Western Cape before the initiative was crushed by the state. In the early 1930s Gomas was also prominent in establishing and subsequently running the South African Garment Workers' Union (SAGWU) based in Cape Town. One of Gomas's more noteworthy escapades during this period occurred on 6 March 1931, the 'International Day of Struggle Against Unemployment', when he and Eddie Roux*, a prominent member of the CPSA, smuggled pamphlets into the gallery of the House of Assembly that they showered down on the members of parliament sitting below. Suffering merely a rough ejection from the parliament buildings on this occasion, he paid a higher price for his bravado towards the latter part of that year when he spent yet another three-month spell in prison after being found guilty on a charge of public violence. The charge arose from Gomas's robust attempts to prevent scabs from working during a strike that the SAGWU had organized in August 1931. Four years later Gomas once again served a prison sentence—this time for six months and with hard labour—for distributing pamphlets attacking the twenty-fifth anniversary celebrations of King George V's reign in a manner the court ruled to have impaired the dignity of the monarch.

Between 1933 and 1935 Gomas stayed in Johannesburg to help shore up the ailing central structures of the CPSA, returning to Cape Town towards the end of 1935. Gomas was also a founder member of the National Liberation League (NLL) inaugurated in Cape Town in December 1935. The NLL was a largely coloured body with the main aim of uniting blacks into a common front to oppose segregation. Gomas worked with enthusiasm to build up the NLL, in the process developing a close friendship with Z. (Cissie) Gool*. In the NLL tension between Gomas and white leaders within the CPSA were further exacerbated as a result of his Africanist leanings. By 1940 Gomas's disenchantment with the CPSA was apparent as he started giving greater priority to black empowerment within the liberation movement than advancing the class struggle itself.

Of his varied political activities, trade unionism was closest to Gomas's heart because he regarded it as the most effective means of organizing workers.

Besides the immediate benefit of improving living conditions Gomas saw it as a potent means of politicizing workers. He considered trade unionism to have great revolutionary potential if conducted in a disciplined manner by a revolutionary party. From the mid-1920s through to the mid-1940s Gomas was involved in the establishment and organization of a large number of trade unions in a wide variety of industries, most notably in collaboration with Ray Alexander and James la Guma. From 1939 onwards he also served for several years as full-time secretary to the Tin Workers' Union (TWU), as well as the Chemical Workers' Union (CWU).

Gomas's estrangement from the CPSA led him to join the Anti-CAD movement founded in 1943. This organization, representing the Trotskyist faction within the radical left and thus being archrivals of the 'Stalinist' CPSA, was formed to combat the United Party's segregationist initiative of establishing a separate Coloured Affairs Department. Gomas's association with the Anti-CAD did not last long, however, because he remained a member of the CPSA and his activism and pragmatic approach to politics did not sit well with the purism and relative inertia of the Trotskyists.

Despite his alienation from the CPSA Gomas retained his membership of the organization and publicly supported its initiatives until it was banned in 1950. In 1951 he became a founder member of the Franchise Action Committee, a broadly based organization formed to oppose the National Party's attempts to remove coloureds from the common voters' roll. The two-year banning order he received in 1952 effectively ended Gomas's active political career by consummating the growing isolation he had been experiencing over the previous decade.

As he grew older Gomas became increasingly confirmed in his Africanist views. After his banning he became more convinced than ever that the SACP had been too accommodating of the racial prejudices of the white working classes and too dismissive of the revolutionary potential of the black petty bourgeoisie. It is therefore not surprising that he took to reading Africanist literature such as the works of George Padmore and C.L.R. James and welcomed the formation of the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC). Gomas even joined the PAC in 1959. Although he appears not to have played any significant role in the civil disobedience campaign launched by this organization in March 1960, he was nevertheless detained for three months during the ensuing state of emergency.

The rest of Gomas's life was spent in poverty and loneliness at his home in District Six. He was an embittered man who felt, with some justification, that he had been deserted by former political comrades who had pursued successful careers while he had sacrificed everything for the liberation movement. Gomas, however, resented his enforced political inactivity the most. State repression ensured that the 1960s was a quiescent period and Gomas's health failed towards the end of that decade. He nevertheless did whatever he could to advance 'the struggle' and managed to gather around him a small group of youths to whom he imparted a political education and to whom he was affectionately known as 'Boeta John'. After suffering two strokes Gomas spent the last seven years of his life partially paralysed and confined to a wheelchair.

Ever the champion of the labouring classes, Gomas was excited by the 1973 Durban strikes and saw the Soweto uprising of 1976 as the start of the political revolution to which he had dedicated his life.

In 1927 Gomas met and married Ruby Meyer. This marriage failed within six months, not least because of Gomas's frequent absences from home and political commitments taking priority in his life. During his stay in Johannesburg, Gomas met Mabel Hutton whom he married in early 1936 some months after his return to Cape Town. They were estranged within a year but were briefly reconciled before Mabel's death in 1939. Once again Gomas appears to have sacrificed his family life for the liberation movement. Indeed, his long-suffering mother had to continue working because Gomas was not earning enough as full-time political organizer to maintain the household and Mabel's ill health prevented her from making a contribution. In 1942 Gomas married Cornelia Brevis, a shop steward at the CWU and sixteen years his junior. Although three daughters were born of this marriage and it lasted till Gomas's death, it was not a happy union. It was fraught with tension over Gomas's neglect of his paternal duties and his anti-social behaviour towards family members. Frustrations and failures in his political work further exacerbated discord within the Gomas family.

Master of the Supreme Court, Cape Town: Estate no. 6974/79; — T. KARIS & G.M. CARTER (eds), *From protest to challenge: a documentary history of African politics in South Africa, 1882-1964*. 4. *Political profiles, 1882-1964*. Stanford, 1977; — P. WICKENS, *The Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of Africa*. Cape Town, 1978; — Obituary: *The Cape Times*, 24 July 1979; — H.J. SIMONS & R.E. SIMONS, *Class and colour in South Africa, 1850-1950*. London, 1983; — R.E. VAN DER ROSS, *The rise and decline of apartheid: a study of political movements among the coloured people of South Africa, 1880-1985*. Cape Town, 1986; — G. LEWIS, *Between the wire and the wall: a history of South African 'coloured' politics*. Cape Town, 1987; — D. MUSSON, *Johnny Gomas: voice of the working class*. Cape Town, 1989.

GORDON, Max (*Cape Town, 1 April 1910—†Cape Town, 10 May 1977), industrial chemist and trade unionist, was the son of an immigrant Lithuanian couple called Ritevsky. His father died young and he was subsequently adopted and his surname changed. Gordon obtained a B.Sc. degree at the University of Cape Town in 1932. During this time he became friendly with teachers in the Unity Movement and joined the Trotskyist-aligned Workers' Party of South Africa.

In 1935 Gordon became involved with the African labour movement on the Witwatersrand. At that time, black trade unions were unrecognized, small and weak; black workers' wages, working hours, conditions and annual pay were unregulated. They could be dismissed at the whim of their employers. Under the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1924, Africans were excluded from bargaining rights or employees' benefits as they were 'pass-bearing Natives'. Disenfranchised and unskilled, black workers were extremely vulnerable, with no power except that of their labour.

It was Gordon's aim to help in developing a strong and vigorous labour

movement that would eventually be able to play a key role in emancipating all black people. When he arrived in Johannesburg, Gordon assumed leadership of the almost defunct African Laundry Workers' Union. After the failure of an illegal strike in 1936 he decided to concentrate on using the industrial relations system itself to bring about improvements.

Gordon called upon the registered unions to support him in a series of negotiations with the Wage Board for the fixing of minimum wages for black workers. Through his evidence at a number of hearings the wages of labourers in several industries increased significantly. With the new determinations in force, Gordon was also able to recover back-pay from employers found to have been underpaying or withholding overtime or notice pay. These successes resulted in the rapid growth of the trade unions.

Perhaps because Gordon was one of the few organizers of black trade unions not aligned to the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA, South African Communist Party (SACP) after 1953), he was able to win the support of the liberal South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR). In January 1938 he was given a grant of £10 per month by the Bantu Welfare Trust to enable him to continue his work full-time. Soon he had organized several trade unions on the Witwatersrand, including unions in the laundry, bakery, dairy, distributive and printing industries. He also established a large African General Workers' Union. He attracted mass audiences at open-air Sunday meetings, and in this way attempted to start a mineworkers' union. But in the face of implacable opposition by the Chamber of Mines the project foundered until 1941 when J.B. Marks* and other CPSA-oriented unionists revived the African Mineworkers' Union.

By 1940 Gordon was the secretary of the Joint Committee of African Trade Unions, a union federation with a membership of between 16 000 and 20 000 members. In the late 1930s, encouraged by their successes, African unions began to reiterate their demand for recognition. Fearing the political and economic consequences, the government refused to concede to this demand. Gordon was one of the trade union organizers who was seen as a threat.

In 1941, during the Second World War (1939–1945), Gordon was arrested for his anti-war stance and interned for a year in the 'anti-Nazi section' of the Ganspan (Andalusia) internment camp near Warrenton. During his absence some of the trade unions suffered, particularly those which had established new branches, for example the Native Commercial Distributive Union in Pretoria.

While Gordon was interned, an underlying tension in the union movement emerged. Gordon had achieved great success in the black labour movement and was rightly credited for his efforts. However, there were black trade unionists who resented implications by the SAIRR that the unions would collapse without white guidance. The joint committee split between those who remained loyal to Gordon and the four unions under Daniel Koza and Phillip Gosani, who opted for all-black control.

During his internment Gordon did not receive support from the established labour movement. The South African Trades and Labour Council refused to intervene on his behalf. When Gordon was eventually released in 1942 he did not attempt to contest the split in the joint committee. He proceeded instead to

Port Elizabeth to found six trade unions among coloured and African workers. He then received a further warning from the authorities that he would again be interned if he persisted in organizing black workers. Simultaneously the African trade unions in Johannesburg rejected Gordon as somebody "... not sincere in his efforts to help the African workers, but is only out for self". Disheartened by the warnings and probably disillusioned at his rejection, Gordon left the labour movement permanently, living and working in London, England, for some years. At the time of his death he was working for a finance company in Cape Town, Gerber Goldschmidt. He was survived by his wife, Ethel, and a daughter, Kapinka.

Gordon's intervention in the labour movement was brief. His political affiliations towards Trotskyism contributed to his isolation within the broad labour movement, even among the left, who tended to be more Stalinist. But his key role in the formation of the Joint Committee of African Trade Unions and his tactics in building up successful trade unions in the face of enormous odds were significant, for he helped to provide the foundation of the black trade union movement that was to flourish during the war years and continue into the 1950s.

M. STEIN, Max Gordon and African trade unionism on the Witwatersrand, 1935-1940. *South African labour bulletin*, 3(9), 1977; — B. HIRSON, *Yours for the union: class and community struggles in South Africa*. Johannesburg, 1989; — N. MOKGATLE, *The autobiography of an unknown South African*. Cape Town, 1990; — Private information: Mrs Ethel Gordon (wife), Cape Town.

GUMEDE, Josiah Tshangana (*?, c.1870—†?, 1947), teacher, politician,



businessman and journalist, sometimes incorrectly referred to as 'James'. Gumede received his training at the Natives' College in Grahamstown in the Eastern Cape. After having been a teacher in Somerset East for several years, he moved to Natal where he continued to teach until he resigned in order to become an advisor to chiefs in Natal and the Orange River Colony (Orange Free State). He was a good singer and pianist and was a member of a Zulu choir that toured Europe. After his return he became an estate agent and was employed at a legal practice in Pietermaritzburg. He owned land and was also a tradesman for some time. In 1906, on

behalf of the Basuto chiefs of the Kholokoe (Kxolokwe or Ruluku) tribe in the Orange River Colony, he laid claims to territory in that colony. He led a delegation of the tribe to Britain in order to bargain for compensation.

With John Dube* and others Gumede was a founder member of the Natal Natives' Congress in 1900. For some time he served as its secretary and vice-president. He was a witness before the South African Native Affairs Commission. This commission was appointed in 1903 with the objective of formulating a policy on African affairs. It was presided over by Sir Godfrey Lagden* and

toured the country taking evidence from interested parties. The final report was published in 1905 and clearly indicated that increasing segregation was planned.

In 1912 Gumede became a founder member of the South African Native National Congress (SANNC, since 1923 the African National Congress (ANC)) and contributed to the drafting of its 1919 constitution. He was also a member of the 1919 SANNC deputation to the Versailles Peace Conference which was held after World War I (1914–1918), and the British government. The deputation, however, failed to ensure a better dispensation for South African blacks.

During the 1920s there was sporadic discord in the Natal Natives' Congress. This was the result of estrangement between Dube and Gumede because Dube attempted to keep the congress as independent as possible from the national ANC whereas Gumede founded the separate Natal African Congress which officially affiliated with the ANC. In 1921 Gumede was appointed as full-time general organizer of the SANNC with the task to tour the country in search of financial support.

Following the failure of the deputation to the British government in 1919, Africans had to concede in 1923 to the Natives (Urban Areas) Act which further curtailed them in the possession of land. From 1924 Gumede openly lamented the increase in segregatory measures. The Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA, South African Communist Party (SACP) after 1953) increasingly shifted their attention to Gumede—and therefore to the ANC—after the communists had been expelled from the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union. Besides his pro-communist inclination Gumede's support of the Afro-American leader, Marcus Garvey—who advocated racial separation and the emigration of Afro-Americans to Africa—was apparent in his speeches. It was probably under Gumede's influence that a resolution to request the United States of America to release Garvey who was imprisoned on charges of fraud, was passed during the July 1927 conference of the ANC.

In 1927 Gumede accompanied James la Guma* of the CPSA to the first international conference of the League Against Imperialism in Brussels, Belgium. From there he visited the Soviet Union (USSR). Upon his return he praised the USSR as a country where racism was unknown. Contrary to his previous anti-Bolshevist stance he now pronounced that the white communists in South Africa were the only group who fully supported the blacks in their struggle for equal rights. These pro-communist pronouncements on his overseas travels were received without enthusiasm by the ANC national executive and the Convention of Bantu Chiefs held under the auspices of the ANC in April 1927. Gumede, however, succeeded in having a proposal which condemned the ties between the CPSA and the ANC, withdrawn.

Despite ANC criticism of the pro-communist tendencies that often surfaced in Gumede's public rhetoric at that stage, he was elected as president-general of the ANC during its annual congress in July 1927, succeeding Z.R. Mahabane*. Subsequently Gumede went abroad again and visited, amongst others, the USSR where he attended the tenth anniversary of the communist revolution of 1917. In 1929 he was elected as chairperson of the South African branch of the League Against Imperialism when it was founded by the CPSA. At the end

of that year, when the CPSA launched the League of African Rights, he also became its president.

Gumede's three-year term as president-general of the ANC was characterized by dispute and dissension—although it did introduce new strains of radical thought into the ANC. It was an unhappy chapter in the history of the organization. Activities virtually came to a halt. Moreover, antipathy towards Gumede's fraternity with communism and his neglect in circulating information increased sharply. This came to a head when the anti-communist faction of the national executive committee of the ANC took a majority decision to resign *en bloc* and T. Mapikela* took over as acting president-general. At the annual ANC conference in April 1930 Pixley Seme succeeded Gumede as president-general. This ended Gumede's role as prominent figure in South African politics. In recognition of his earlier services to the ANC he was, however, appointed as lifelong honorary president of the organization.

Apart from his political activities he was also involved with journalism. At about the time of the First World War he was editor of *Ilanga lase Natal* and by the 1930s owner and editor of the ANC mouthpiece *Abantu Batho*.

Gumede was described as a man seldom angered or harsh in judgement, who accepted criticism as the expression of opinion that people were entitled to. At the same time he was also described as someone lacking independent thought. He sold his store to pay for the debts incurred by the 1919 deputation and the legal cases during the anti-pass campaign of that year.

Gumede was married to Lillian Mqogqoza. Their son, Archibald Gumede, was an ANC defendant in the Treason Trial of 1956, while a daughter, Constance, married A.W.G. Champion*.

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GUTSCHE, Thelma (*Somerset West, 7 January 1915—†Montagu, 5 November 1984), authoress and biographer, was the second daughter of Dr Jesse Gutsche and Agnes Patricia Anne Gutsche (nee Mackintosh). Her father was works manager of African Explosives Works, Somerset West, and subsequently joint managing director of South African Paper and Pulp Industries.

Gutsche received private tuition and studied at the University of Cape Town



(UCT) from 1930 to 1935, where she obtained the B.A. and M.A. degrees, majoring in ethics, logics and metaphysics. In 1947 she received her doctorate for a thesis entitled *The history and social significance of motion pictures in South Africa, 1895-1940*. The thesis was published in 1972 due to a continuous demand by students.

After serving as theatre and cinema critic and book reviewer for *The forum* magazine, Gutsche joined the State Bureau of Information as film adviser shortly after the outbreak of the Second World War (1939-1945). In 1947 she was appointed head of the Educational and Information Service of African Consolidated Films Ltd. The following year she also became joint director of Silver Leaf Books that published, amongst others, *Face to face*, the first collection of short stories by Nadine Gordimer—prominent South African author who won the 1991 Nobel Prize for Literature.

In 1959 Gutsche resigned from African Consolidated Films to become self-employed, acting occasionally as historical consultant and serving on cultural and welfare organizations. She was president of the National Council of Women from 1955 to 1958, a founder member of the Simon van der Stel Foundation, and a trustee and honorary life president of the Friends of the Johannesburg Art Gallery. From 1956 Gutsche was also a member of the Africana Museum Advisory Committee, Johannesburg, and from 1968 of the Photographic Foundation Board Advisory Committee of the Bensusan Museum of Photography, Johannesburg. She resigned from both committees in August 1981 when she retired to Montagu. On her retirement she donated her archival material and private papers to the Strange Library of Africana of the Johannesburg Public Library. Her extensive Africana collection was sold by auction.

As a writer she made contributions to encyclopaedias, journals and newspapers and won the Central News Agency (CNA) prize in 1966 for her biography of Lady Florence Phillips, *No ordinary woman*. Among Gutsche's other books are works of social history such as *Old gold: the history of the Wanderers Club* (1966); *The changing social pattern of Johannesburg* (1967); *The microcosm* (1968), a study of the Colesberg district of the Cape; *A very smart medal: the story of the Witwatersrand Agricultural Society* (1970); *The Bishop's lady* (1970), a study of Sophia Wharton Gray*; and *There was a man: the life and times of Arnold Theiler** (1979).

In Montagu she founded the Long Street Group for the preservation of historic buildings. She never married.

She is remembered for her scholarship, incisive wit, generosity and forthright manner. She was an ardent feminist and keen sportswoman, who was a member of the first tennis team of UCT.

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H

HALDANE, Richard Maxwell (Dick) (*Great Amwell, Hertfordshire, England, 27 October 1909—†Cape Town, 2 January 1971), trade union leader, was the third son of Major and Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Maldwyn Makgill Haldane of the Royal Scots and assistant director of the Special Intelligence Service, and his wife Mabel Constance Seymore of County Clare, Ireland.



Educated at Loretto School, Edinburgh, Haldane joined the Royal Bank of Scotland at Galashiels in 1930. He resigned to join the Standard Bank of South Africa, arriving in Cape Town in July 1931 and being posted to its Adderley Street branch. He became an inspector in 1934, and an officer in the

bank's advance department two years later.

Haldane first became aware of the existence of the South African Society of Bank Officials (SASBO) in 1937, joining immediately and showing instant rapport with trade unionism. He soon became chairperson of SASBO's Cape Town committee. While associated with SASBO he contributed regularly to its monthly journal, *South African banking magazine* (later *SASBO news*) and to British trade union journals.

In 1937 Haldane returned to Britain on leave and was invited to address several meetings of the International Federation of Bank Officials' Associations, Bank Officers' Guild (the British equivalent of SASBO) and a mass meeting in Edinburgh where bank employees of the Bank of Scotland were in dispute with their employers. On his return to South Africa he was transferred to the Standard Bank's Gwelo (Gweru) branch in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). Here he joined SASBO's Bulawayo committee, travelling a 320 km round trip from Gwelo after work to attend meetings. He was a member of the delegation at the Conciliation Board meeting in Salisbury (Harare) which sought an augmented grading award and an improved overtime agreement. His negotiating skills helped SASBO win significant concessions.

In 1941 Haldane returned to Cape Town on promotion and in 1943 succeeded F.R. Swan as general secretary of SASBO, a post he was to fill for 21 years. The union was then in a delicate position. Founded in 1916 and recognized in 1919 at a time of conflict resulting in the first bank strike in the

British Empire in 1920, SASBO subsequently became submissive under Swan. Under Haldane's leadership SASBO developed a strong general council, as well as an effective negotiating team which greatly advanced salaries and working conditions in Standard and Barclays (First National) banks, a lead most other institutions were compelled to follow. Haldane was responsible for the purchase of land in Braamfontein, Johannesburg, on which SASBO House was built. His devotion to the banking industry is shown by the fact that the bulk of his estate was left to set up the Richard Haldane Scholarship Fund to provide educational bursaries for the children of officers and pensioners of the Standard Bank.

In the wider trade union area Haldane was to play an equally important part. His appointment as general secretary of SASBO coincided with the union's decision to affiliate to the South African Trades and Labour Council (SATLC). He became a prominent figure in SATLC and its successor, the Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA), serving on the national executive committee and as vice-president of both bodies. In 1949 he chaired a multiunion unity conference and, in the same year, was South Africa's workers' delegate to the International Labour Organization (ILO) conference in Geneva, Switzerland, having also been sought by government to be its representative.

In 1952, when the existence of trade unions was threatened by the Suppression of Communism Act, Haldane chaired the multiunion conference that addressed this threat and headed the subsequent delegation that put the union's case to Prime Minister Dr D.F. Malan*, and senior cabinet members. He was again a delegate to the ILO in 1961 and 1963 and in the latter year spent two months in the United States of America (USA) on a State Department's Foreign Leadership Grant. During his 21 years in the labour movement he served as an advisor and arbitrator to many other unions, helped establish the Building Society Officials' Association, and was for many years a director of the South African Trade Union Assurance Society Limited (TRADUNA) and the South African Trade Union Building Society.

Haldane had a strong, well-balanced personality. His negotiating ability greatly enhanced the status and perquisites of SASBO and the other unions with which, through his vice-presidency of TUCSA, he was associated. In accepting the Award of Merit from TUCSA at its 1964 conference he urged his colleagues to fight for the rights of disenfranchised South Africans.

Despite his prominent public image Haldane was a very private person and little is known of his private life. On 28 September 1939 Haldane married Ruth Kathleen Hunt of Barkly East. The couple had no children. Both were keen aviators. His wife predeceased him in October 1970.

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HEAD, Bessie Amelia (*Pietermaritzburg, 6 July 1937—†Serowe, Botswana, 17 April 1986), novelist, short story writer and social historian, was the daughter of a white woman and a black man. According to Head her mother was Bessie Emery who had fallen pregnant after a relationship with a black stable-hand. Her mother was disowned by her parents and committed to the mental asylum in Pietermaritzburg where Head was born, and where her mother died in 1943. Some sources say that Head's mother was the daughter of a wealthy Natal racehorse owner and her father a Zulu stable-hand. Head believed that her father was a stable-hand on the family's Transvaal estate. She recorded that during her adolescence she was abruptly told the harsh facts of her life—about her mother and father and that her foster parents had rejected her because she was too black. Some recent research suggests that the facts may not accord exactly with her beliefs about herself; nevertheless, she was always haunted by a need to account for her parentage as well as by the stigma of madness suffered by her mother.



Head was raised in Durban, first by foster parents and then in an Anglican mission orphanage. She trained as a teacher and taught for four years in the Durban area. However, when she found that she did not enjoy teaching, she briefly worked for the *Drum* publication, the *Golden City Post* (later *Post*), on the *Home Post Supplement*. It is not known how long she worked there but her articles were published from May 1959 to April 1960. It was probably during 1960 or 1961 that she moved to Johannesburg where she worked for the *Golden City Post*.

She married journalist Harold Head in 1962 but the marriage soon broke up—though they were never divorced—and she decided to leave South Africa. She is known to have had a "very peripheral involvement in politics" which probably referred to her affiliations and friendships with left-wing activists such as Denis Brutus, and her husband who was also involved in so-called unity politics. She was once charged with subversive activities for assisting with the publication of a pamphlet which was subsequently banned; the charges against her were dropped. These 'involvements' resulted in her application for a passport being turned down. In March 1964 she left South Africa for Botswana on an exile permit, taking her only child, Howard, with her.

After her arrival in Botswana, Head was a primary school teacher in Serowe for a while, but apparently it did not work out for her and within a year she was without a job. In 1966 she apparently moved to Francistown as a refugee, but it must be assumed that she moved back to Serowe because by 1969 she was involved with the Swaneng Hill project on community farming and education at Serowe. The purpose of the project was to teach the community to grow vegetables economically and successfully in Botswana's harsh and dry climate. *When rain clouds gather* (1969) dealt fairly extensively with agriculture in Botswana. *The collector of treasures* (1977), a collection of short stories, and *Serowe: village of the rain wind* (1981), a social history, both dealt

with the lives and position of rural women. Head was granted Botswana citizenship in 1979.

Her writing career began in Johannesburg where she worked as a journalist, but, as she often said, it was only after she had left the country of her birth and had settled in Botswana, where she felt surrounded by a more stable, rooted way of life, that she could write fiction. In her writing she used her own experiences as a basis for fiction that both commented on South Africa and showed her vision for the future. Her special achievement as a novelist was the exploration of the inner consequences of being denied a viable, fulfilling identity. In her short stories and social histories she successfully combined a Western literary form with the traditional African role of storyteller and historian. In an interview in 1983 she said that the German author Bertolt Brecht and the English author D.H. Lawrence had the greatest influence on her.

The autobiographical strain in her fiction, particularly in *A question of power* that was based on her own nervous breakdown, testified to the anguish that her personal history added to the social suffering consequent on South Africa's official policy of racial segregation. After confronting her own deepest fears in this novel, she seemed to have found a further healing power in the social and historical researches into traditional life in Botswana which led to her last two books.

Head published three novels, *When rain clouds gather* (1969), *Maru* (1971) and *A question of power* (1973); a collection of short stories, *The collector of treasures* (1977); and two volumes of a social history, *Serowe: village of the rain wind* (1981) and *A bewitched crossroad* (1984). In addition, there are several uncollected stories (of which some were published in 1993 as *The cardinals with meditations and stories*), some early South African journalism and a few articles published in Botswana. At the time of her death she was reportedly writing a historical novel for which she was researching in the archives in Gaborone, as well as planning an autobiography.

She suffered from hepatitis.

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Sheila Roberts, *Ellen Kuzwayo, Miriam Tlali*. Grahamstown, 1989; — *Makers of modern Africa: profiles in history*. 2nd ed. London, 1991; — S. GRAY, Bessie Head's end. *English in Africa*, 18(2), 1991; — H. MACKIE, Bessie Head, a feminist model. *The Sunday Times*, 31 October 1993.

HEFER, Johan Daniël (Bull) (*Rusplaas, Fauresmith, 25 December 1912— †Johannesburg, 3 July 1984), professional wrestling promoter, was the only child of Johan Daniël Hefer and his wife, Petronella Smit.



After completing his schooling in Fauresmith, Hefer joined the South African Railways in Bloemfontein and started wrestling as an amateur. From 1931 to 1941 he was the amateur heavyweight wrestling champion. In 1936 he tried unsuccessfully in Johannesburg to be included in the Springbok team for the Olympic Games. In 1938 he settled in Windhoek, South West Africa (Namibia) where he gave body-building and fitness classes. After the Second World War (1939–1945) he opened a gymnasium in Cape Town and in 1947 he started promoting professional wrestling as the Cape Town agent and co-promoter for Henri Irlsinger of Johannesburg. This association lasted until Irlsinger's death in 1954.

Hefer then settled in Johannesburg, where he was a promoter until his death. As co-promoter and promoter over a period of almost four decades, Hefer arranged hundreds of tournaments in southern Africa and undertook many journeys overseas to negotiate with wrestlers.

Hefer promoted well-known wrestlers such as Gerrie de Jager, Percy Hall, Manie Maritz, Willie Liebenberg, Jan Wilkens and Manie van Zyl, as well as several wrestlers with imaginative pseudonyms such as Wild Man of the Kalahari, Red Rebel, Boerseun and Apollo. Many of his tournaments had an international atmosphere because he invited overseas wrestlers to South Africa. These wrestlers included Ali the Cruel Turk; the Greeks Tarzan Taborda, Andreas Lambratis and John Costas; the Portuguese Carlos Rocha; and the Americans Sampson Burke and Zoro the Great.

Professional wrestling received a setback in 1959 as a result of restrictive legislation that prohibited most of the spectacular holds and antics that had accounted for the sport's popularity in the past. From 1965 Hefer was instrumental in reviving interest in this sport by introducing Jan Wilkens to the public. In 1975 Hefer's career reached a climax when he arranged a series of three fights between Wilkens and Don Leo Jonathan, the American holder of the world title. Wilkens won the series and Hefer continued as promoter of the world champion's fights.

Generally known as 'Bull' because of his powerful build, Hefer was good-natured and flamboyant, but also eccentric at times. With his husky voice and very seldom without his large pipe or long cigar, he was a popular figure in the wrestling world. The entertainment and excitement that his tournaments provided for thousands of wrestling enthusiasts gave him great satisfaction. He

died after suffering two strokes and was buried on his farm Wonderfontein in the Fauresmith district.

Hefer married Ellen Sophia Wilhelmina Coertzen in 1935. They had a son and three daughters.

A.A. JOUBERT, Wrestling. In: *Standard encyclopaedia of Southern Africa*, 11. Cape Town, 1975; — Obituaries: *Beeld*, 4 July 1984; *The Citizen*, 4 July 1984; *Pretoria News*, 4 July 1984; — Private information: Mrs Ellen Hefer (wife), Johannesburg.

HELLMANN, Ellen Phyllis (*Johannesburg, 25 August 1908—†Johannesburg, 6 November 1982), social anthropologist and leading executive member of the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR). She was the daughter of Bernard Kaumheimer who emigrated from Bavaria, Germany, to South Africa in 1894, and Chlothilde Theilheimer.



Hellmann was educated at Barnato Park and the classical section of the Commercial High School. She then entered the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, for a B.A. degree, planning to major in English and psychology. A clash of classes led to her taking social anthropology. This brought her into contact with the lecturer Winifred Hoernlé*

Hoernlé, who envisaged the scope and potentialities of research among urban Africans, influenced and trained Hellmann as she went from undergraduate to postgraduate studies. For the M.A. degree Hellmann focused on urban Africans in a slum yard near the centre of the city of Johannesburg—Rooiyard in New Doornfontein—thus becoming one of the first to apply the techniques of social anthropological research to urban groups in South Africa, and probably the first anthropologist to do research among urban Africans. Her daily visits to the slum over a period of a year resulted in the publication *Rooiyard: a sociological survey of an urban native slum yard* (1948; reprinted 1969). In 1940 she became the first woman to obtain a D.Phil. degree at the University of the Witwatersrand, with the dissertation *Early school leaving among African school children and the occupational opportunities open to the African juveniles*—published as *Problems of urban Bantu youth* (1940).

Research among urban Africans led to her desire to participate in efforts to change the conditions under which they lived. Hellmann therefore joined the multiracial Joint Council of Europeans and Bantu, serving first as secretary and later as chairperson. Her main contribution to South African public life was through the SAIRR with which she had been involved since its inception. She headed many of the various committees of the SAIRR, including the Research Committee and the General Purposes Committee (1967–1973). As chairperson of the Research Committee (1966–1977) her insistence on precision and excellence set the high standards for which the publications and annual *Race relations survey* became known. On behalf of the SAIRR Hellmann compiled and submitted evidence to government commissions, ranging from the

Commission for Socio-economic Development of the Native Areas of South Africa of 1955 (headed by F.R. Tomlinson), to the Commission of Inquiry into the Riots at Soweto and Elsewhere from 16th June 1976 to the 28th of February 1977 (chaired by P.M. Cillie). Hellmann was a leading executive member of the SAIRR (1952-1953), its president from 1954 to 1956, and subsequently elected an honorary life member. She was chairperson of the Isaacson Bursary Fund for Africans, that was linked to the SAIRR.

During the Second World War (1939-1945) Hellman ran the coloured and Indian section of the Governor-General's National War Fund in Johannesburg. For some years she lectured in sociology at the now defunct Jan Hofmeyr School of Social Work which trained Africans as social workers; she regarded this as one of her most rewarding undertakings. Hellmann was honorary treasurer of Entokozweni, the African family welfare centre in Alexandra. In addition, she was a founder member of the Progressive Party, serving on its executive from 1959 to 1971. She also held office in the Witwatersrand branch of the South African Institute for International Affairs, the Johannesburg Soroptimist Club, Women for Peace, and many Jewish organizations in the Witwatersrand area, including the Board of Deputies. Hellmann's involvement in these many organizations was no mere tokenism; in each she rigorously upheld her principles and opposed slipshod thinking.

Hellmann edited and contributed a chapter to the *Handbook on race relations in South Africa* (1949; reprinted 1969). She wrote *Sellgoods: a sociological survey of an African commercial labour force* (1953); and *Soweto: Johannesburg's African city* (1969). In addition, she published over 50 articles and memoranda on urban Africans.

She received an honorary doctorate in law from the University of the Witwatersrand in 1968. In 1970 the Royal African Society (Great Britain) awarded Hellmann its gold medal for "dedicated service to Africa". In the citation she was described as an "... authority on race relations and in the forefront of the battle for African advancement".

In March 1932 she married Joseph Michael Hellmann, an attorney, who died in March 1941. They had one daughter who is now living in Britain. In 1948 she married Dr Bodo E.H. Koch, who examined Robert Sobukwe* by the time his lung illness had become noticeable. No children were born of this marriage.

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HERTZOG, Johannes Albertus Munnik (Albert) (*Bloemfontein, 4 July 1899—†Pretoria, 5 November 1982), leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP), cabinet minister, member of parliament, advocate, and organizer of Afrikaans labour on the Witwatersrand. He was the eldest son of the South African Prime Minister Gen. James Barry Munnik Hertzog* and his wife Wilhelmina Jacoba (Mynie) Neethling.



As young boy Hertzog spent the South African War (1899–1902) with his mother in British concentration camps. He was educated at Grey College, Bloemfontein, after which he studied at the University of Stellenbosch where he obtained the B.A. degree. He continued his studies at the University of

Amsterdam in the Netherlands, New College at Oxford, England, and the University of Leiden in the Netherlands, where he was awarded the LL.D.

In 1929 Hertzog started practising as an advocate in Pretoria. His first controversial public statement was made in 1931 when he blamed the English-speaking heads of government departments for the poverty that many Afrikaners experienced during the depression of the 1930s. This led to a direct clash with his father who, as head of government, condemned his son's pronouncement in public. When his father decided to lead the National Party (NP) to fusion with the United Party in 1933, Hertzog did not follow him. Two years later his father also made a sharp attack on the Afrikaner Broederbond (AB) of which Hertzog was an influential member.

The success that the NP achieved on the Witwatersrand during the 1940s was largely the result of a fierce struggle by a group of young Afrikaners under the leadership of Hertzog. He was extremely concerned about the urbanized Afrikaner who had become alienated from his rural roots and occupied an inferior position in the mining industry. Already by the middle of the 1930s the trade unions had some 180 000 members of whom the great majority were Afrikaners. Moreover, some 90 percent of the mineworkers on the Rand were Afrikaans. Nevertheless, the management of the trade unions was in the hands of English-speaking men. At one stage Hertzog was charged with libel because of alleged statements about the members of the management of the Mineworkers' Union (MWU). The charge was later withdrawn.

In 1936 Hertzog led the NP campaign to enlist the support of the Afrikaans workers in the MWU. In October of that year he was a founder member of the Nasionale Raad van Trusteë (NRT) (National Board of Trustees) and became its first chairperson. The aim of the NRT was to organize the Afrikaner workers on the Rand into Christian national unions and thus win these workers for the Afrikaner cause. A trust that was set up to assist Afrikaner miners on the Witwatersrand, was also administered by the NTR. Less than two months later Hertzog was instrumental in the founding of the Afrikaner Bond van Mynwerkers (ABM) to specifically serve the Afrikaner mineworkers. However, it soon transpired that the ABM served as a front organization for the NTR; the expenses of the ABM members were carried by the NTR, including their

subscriptions. When the ABM met with too much opposition from the Gold Producers' Committee and the Joint Committee of the Mining Union, it was replaced by the Hervormingsorganisasie (Reform Organization) within the MWU in October 1938, with Hertzog as its first chairperson. Its main aim was to reform the MWU legally from within into an Afrikaans Christian national union, thus preventing opposition. When Charles Harris, secretary of the MWU, was shot in cold blood in June 1939, there were rumours of a conspiracy by the Hervormingsorganisasie, but the court found the murder to be the work of an individual.

After the suspension in 1940 of MWU elections for the duration of the Second World War (1939-1945), the Hervormingsorganisasie concentrated on strengthening itself internally. It started an action programme that included training for mineworkers in unionism and the holding of social functions and house meetings. Hertzog, P.J. Meyer* and H.F. Verwoerd* were prominent in this action. The Hervormingsorganisasie also continued its struggle against alleged unconstitutional actions by the MWU management and in 1940-1941 gave evidence before a government commission in this regard. A subsequent commission revealed many irregularities within the MWU about the handling of constitutional, financial and administrative matters. All these actions culminated in a successful strike under the leadership of the Verenigde Mynwerkerskomitee (United Mineworkers' Committee) early in 1947 and a resounding victory for this committee in the MWU elections in November 1948. Thus the South African Mineworkers' Union became a Christian national trade union. These political manoeuvres on the Witwatersrand during the war years prepared the way for the NP victory at the polls in 1948.

During the Second World War Hertzog defended many members of the Ossewa-Brandwag (OB) who had been accused of defeating the government's war effort. In 1940 he was summoned to give evidence in court about a mineworkers' strike. Despite the strict security legislation he refused to furnish certain information about the case.

Hertzog participated in the founding of the Federation of Ratepayers' Associations in Pretoria in 1942 with the aim of reforming municipal government in the city. From 1944 to 1951 he also served as a member of the Pretoria City Council.

In the 1948 general election Hertzog was a central figure in the NP's victory. He won the Ermelo seat for the party and was re-elected in 1953 with an enlarged majority.

Hertzog's election to parliament in 1948 marked the start of his active political career. He started his own unofficial study group among NP members. Initially it concentrated on labour, mineworkers' and trade union affairs but gradually it widened its scope to include all political matters. In 1958 Hertzog was appointed as Minister of Posts and Telegraphs and of Health in the cabinet of Dr H.F. Verwoerd. He distinguished himself as an able administrator.

After Verwoerd's death in 1966, politics in South Africa became more fluid and Hertzog became involved in clashes with Prime Minister John Vorster* about policy aspects. By 1967 he had clearly emerged as leader of the conservative wing of the NP. This group started to react against what they

called the 'liberal establishment'. Early in 1968 Hertzog was stripped of the portfolio of Posts and Telegraphs and retained only Health. The differences about policy matters continued and in August 1968 Vorster announced a cabinet reshuffle and Hertzog was omitted.

So ended a decade as cabinet minister. His period in office was marked by several achievements. The Post Office received its own budget, the telephone service was modernized and extended, and an FM radio service was instituted. However, Hertzog had steadfastly opposed the institution of a television service for the country because he was convinced that it would corrupt the Afrikaner's morals.

After his ousting from the cabinet Hertzog maintained silence in the House of Assembly for months. He responded only on 14 April 1969 when he delivered a speech that became known as the 'Calvinistic' speech. He said that Calvinistic principles were an essential prerequisite for a leader in the South African situation. He asserted that the power of any leader who discarded these principles would collapse. He juxtaposed Afrikaans- and English-speaking South Africans, pointing out that the Afrikaner was anchored to his church and religion while the English speaker was inherently liberal. He apparently insinuated that Vorster did not conform to the requirements for a Calvinistic Afrikaner.

The speech aggravated the polarization within the NP and an open break with the NP was inevitable. In the months that followed the gap between the Hertzog group and the NP widened. The former consisted of men like Jaap Marais, Cas Greyling, Willie Marais and Louis Stofberg.

There were especially two matters about which the Hertzog group and the NP differed: the admission of mixed sport teams in South Africa and the acceptance of black diplomats in the Republic. Hertzog was particularly opposed to the inclusion of Maoris in touring New Zealand rugby teams and Basil D'Oliveira in the Marylebone Cricket Club (MCC) cricket team. He invoked Verwoerd's sport policy and believed that the admission of mixed foreign teams in South Africa would systematically discredit the whole apartheid policy.

The final confrontation between the NP leadership and Hertzog's ultra-right group occurred at the Transvaal NP congress in September 1969. The break came when some members refused to endorse a motion about the sport policy. Hertzog and two other members of parliament, Louis Stofberg and Jaap Marais, were expelled from the NP. This led to the founding of the Herstigste (Reformed) National Party (HNP) on 25 October 1969.

Hertzog was subsequently isolated by the Afrikaner establishment. In November 1969 his trusteeship of Dagbreek Trust was terminated and he was ousted as a member of the board of directors of Afrikaanse Pers Bpk (APB) and Vaderland-beleggings (Vaderland Investments). Thus his long connection with APB and Vaderland-beleggings ended.

On 16 January 1970 the HNP started its own newspaper, *Die Afrikaner*. However, the party commanded little support. In the general election of 1970 no fewer than 75 of the 77 HNP candidates lost their deposits and the party did not win one seat. Hertzog refused to admit that his party had suffered a

crushing blow and ascribed its poor performance to the fact that it had very little time to organize for the early election called by Vorster.

Hertzog remained leader of the HNP until May 1977 when he was succeeded by Jaap Marais. The next year he broke his ties with the HNP, thus ending his formal political career. (Some sources contend that he was expelled by the HNP because of his apparent unwillingness to increase his financial backing to the party.) However, he continued to participate in right-wing white politics, occasionally acting as speaker. As founder of Aksie Red Blanke Suid-Afrika (ARBSA) (Movement to Save White South Africa) he was still a prominent figure on the right. His last public appearance was as speaker at an ARBSA meeting in Pretoria in September 1982.

Hertzog has been called the father of the far-right movement in South Africa. Until his death he concentrated his efforts on co-ordinating and consolidating conservatives among the Afrikaners. To this end he participated in the founding of many Afrikaner organizations. These included Volkskas, Uniewinkels, Koopkrag, Pretoria Bank, the Ekonomiese Instituut (Economic Institute), and the Federation of Ratepayers' Associations in Pretoria. He was the founder of the Afrikaner-Orde and served on the executive council of the AB for 20 years. Hertzog was also a co-founder of the Nasionale Raad van Trusteers, the Pieter Neethling Fund and the Johanna Ziervogel Fund that were all aimed at promoting the interests of white workers. In addition he was a trustee of the Afrikaanse Persfonds (Press fund) and the Afrikaner Persraad (Press council) that furthered the interests of the Afrikaner in the press industry.

Hertzog was a colourful public personality, charming, very courteous with a kind and friendly disposition. He was a gentleman but had a strong will that often brought him into confrontation with others. After his break with the NP he often suffered derision and was the target of unruly behaviour at political meetings, yet he always responded with dignity and restraint. He was particularly fond of gardening and his collection of cycads was regarded as one of the largest collections of these plants in the world.

Hertzog was married to Katherine Marjorie Whiteley, a descendant of the British settlers of 1820, whom he met at Oxford. She died on 25 February 1970 and in 1977 he married Martha M. Viljoen (nee Duvenhage). No children were born from these marriages.

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HIGGS, Cecil (*Thaba Nchu, 28 July 1900—†Cape Town, 6 June 1986),



painter, one of the five children (two sons and three daughters) of Clement Higgs and Florence Morgan. She grew up in the Thaba Nchu district near the Lesotho border and matriculated at the Wesleyan High School, Grahamstown, in 1918. In 1919 she spent a year at the Art School in Grahamstown. The following year she left for Europe and spent the next thirteen years studying at different institutions in Britain and Europe.

In London Higgs attended classes at the Goldsmiths School of Art, the Royal Academy School and the Camden School of Art under Walter Sickert, from whom she learned much. During her stay in London she exhibited with the London Group and, in 1929, at the New English Art Club. In Paris she studied at the Académie de la Grande Chaumière under André Lhote. She visited art museums and galleries, learning from the old and the new masters. The work of the Impressionists Bonnard, Cézanne, Matisse, Picasso and particularly Braque, as well as the early work of Vuillard impressed and influenced her. However, she was also drawn to the work of Postimpressionists.

Higgs returned to South Africa in 1933 and lived near Thaba Nchu and then at Richmond near Zastron. In 1935 she settled in Stellenbosch where she spent a productive decade of painting. During this time she met Wolf Kibel* (for whose work she had a particular affinity), Lippy Lipshitz* and John Dronsfield*. After Kibel's death in 1938 she, Lipshitz and Dronsfield often exhibited together. The three were also members of the dynamic society of artists formed in 1938 and known as the New Group—who included artists like Jean Welz* and Gregoire Boonzaier. Their aim was to introduce modern styles of art to the South African public. Their work met with some hostility. At an exhibition of the New Group at the Carnegie Library of the University of Stellenbosch, a critic described Higgs's work as "surely the ugliest ever exhibited here". *Pink nude*, in particular, offended not only some of the critics but also the university authorities who removed the painting from the exhibition.

As a result of her long overseas study Higgs had mastered the techniques of drawing, painting, lithography, etching and wood-engraving. Back in South Africa she used wood-engraving for book cover designs and illustrations, for

example for Uys Krige's *Magdalena Retief* and A.C. Bosman's *Nerina van Drakenstein*. From the beginning, however, the outstanding painterly effects and sensitivity to colour were the most important characteristics of her work. Higgs's work during the 1930s was figurative, showing certain influences of European Modernism in the simplification and faceting of shapes and composition (*Two girls*, 1935, drawing), and certain unorthodox painting methods, such as drawing into the wet paint with the handle of the brush (*Listening to music*, 1930s, oils). It was probably during this period that her interest in paint and painterly effects (as distinct from using paint as a descriptive means) started developing. Hints of this interest already occurred in *Old couple* (1940, oils) and *Mother and child* (1940, oils). Both works showed heavy impasto, some scuffing and unpainted patches of canvas.

After a visit to Europe in 1938 Higgs settled in Cape Town, living along the Atlantic Coast from Green Point to Sea Point and Mouille Point. In 1964 she moved to Vermont near Onrust. Gradually an all-embracing interest in the sea developed. Figure compositions and still lifes were painted less frequently and marine themes predominated, inaugurating the most significant development in her work. The colour, atmosphere and above all the hidden rhythms of the sea now replaced the human figure in her work. Still lifes became sensitive colour studies of abalone, lime-like rock textures, seaweed and everything to be found in and at the sea.

She started exploring media and techniques to create unusual equivalents for, rather than mere copies of, her new environment. Until 1948 Higgs worked mainly in black-and-white, oil and now and then watercolours, but in that year she started using a mixture of watercolours, gouache, coloured ink, pastels and coloured crayons on paper. *Marine still life* (1949, mixed media), although still fairly linear and form orientated in part, showed textures created by the inherent possibilities of the media, rather than simulating textures of shell, rock and seaweed. By 1959 Higgs had solved her technical problems. *Laminaria* (1959, oils) showed all the characteristics of her mature style.

An injury to her arm in 1971 compelled her to do work on paper and renewed her interest in the mixed media techniques. During the seventies she discovered the world as seen through a microscope. This led to a new development in her work which she called 'close-ups', a series of paintings in her characteristic style of minutely observed light-reflecting matter seen under a microscope, such as a piece of a butterfly wing or a drop of liquid, which were turned into delicately coloured compositions.

Higgs is regarded as one of South Africa's foremost painters. She applied her thorough knowledge of her craft without pretension in lyrical semi-abstract renditions of her environment and the people around her. Although a coterie admired her work from the start it took many years before her work was generally accepted. It was only in 1963 that the Medal of Honour for Painting was awarded to her by the Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns (South African Academy for Arts and Science).

She exhibited almost yearly, initially taking part in many group exhibitions, the first in London in 1929 with the London Group. From 1939 she exhibited with the New Group in South Africa. In 1948 she took part in the overseas

exhibition of South African art; in 1950 and 1958 in the Venetian Biennial; in 1952 in the Van Riebeeck Three Centuries Exhibition; in 1953 in the Rhodes Centenary Exhibition; in 1956 in the first Quadrennial of South African art; in 1957 and 1961 in the São Paulo Biennial; in 1960 in the second Quadrennial of South African art and the South African Graphic Exhibition in Yugoslavia; in 1966 in the Republic Festival Exhibition in Pretoria; and in 1971 in the Republic Festival Exhibition in Cape Town.

Her first solo exhibition took place in Stellenbosch in 1936. Others followed at Ashley's Gallery in Cape Town in 1937; Johannesburg in 1947; and Cape Town and Johannesburg in 1967 to 1969. In 1975 a prestige retrospective exhibition was held at the South African National Gallery in Cape Town, the William Humphreys Gallery in Kimberley, the Durban Art Gallery and the Pretoria Art Museum. In 1980 a special birthday exhibition was held in Cape Town.

Higgs's works have been included in a number of public collections, of which the most important are in the South African National Gallery in Cape Town, the Johannesburg Art Gallery, the Pretoria Art Museum, the William Humphreys Gallery in Kimberley, the Durban Art Gallery and the Tatham Art Gallery in Pietermaritzburg.

Higgs was a slender woman who turned grey at an early age. She never married.

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J

JANTJES, Britanje (*Zuurveld, near the Fish River, c.1766—†?, c.1840), tanner, messenger and interpreter, was a Gona (or Gonaqua)—a Khoikhoi tribe who lived between the Sundays and Great Fish rivers. Jantjes understood the languages and the complex relationships between the Gonaqua, Gqunukhwebe, Xhosa and colonists on the eastern frontier. He probably participated in the Khoikhoi rebellion of 1799–1803. An early reference to him appeared in the hire register established by H.C.D. Maynier* to entice the rebels to return to service on the farms. On 22 September 1800 he agreed to work for one year for Field Cornet C.J. van Rooyen, who farmed near the mouth of the Zwartkops River.

Jantjes left Algoa Bay and entered the London Missionary Society (LMS) station at Bethelsdorp on 1 May 1806. He was a tanner by trade and acquired a wagon with which he could earn good money in nearby Uitenhage. At various times during the next 20 years he was a key witness when allegations of cruelty or corruption were levelled against frontier farmers and officials. He testified in at least ten of the cases that arose from Khoisan complaints reported between 1803 and 1813 by the LMS missionaries Dr J.T. van der Kemp* and James Read*. The one case involved a farmer's unlawful detention of Jantjes's child. He also gave evidence at the hearings into the alleged misconduct of Landdrost J.G. Cuyler* of Uitenhage between 1823 and 1824.

Despite his background as one-time rebel and his readiness to become involved in contentious matters, early nineteenth-century records revealed a no more trusted intermediary on the eastern frontier than Jantjes. Cuyler engaged him to parley with the Xhosa chief Ndlambe* and with the Gqunukhwebe chief Chungwa*. He retrieved stolen weapons, delivered cash sums, set up meetings, collected and relayed news and, on occasion, claimed to have coaxed and advised still independent indigenous leaders to co-operate with the Cape Colony. He took an active part in Cuyler's efforts to induce Hans Trompeter* and adherents of David Stuurman* to return from exile among the Xhosa and Gqunukhwebe, and live in the Colony.

In 1813 Jantjes, with Cupido Kakkerlak*, Andries Pretorius and others assisted Rev. John Campbell* on his extensive tour beyond the borders of the Colony. On 28 July 1816 Jantjes was baptized by Read.

When Lord Charles Somerset* and Ngqika* conferred at the Kat River on 2 April 1817, Jantjes was one of the two Gona interpreters who were crucial to the exchange. Cuyler and Andries Stockenström* did the English-Dutch

translations, whereupon Jantjes translated from Dutch to Xhosa and back again. His interpretations were checked by two Xhosa-speaking colonists on Somerset's behalf, and by Hendrik Nootka, also a Gona, for Ngqika and the other chiefs. When the Fifth Frontier War (1818-1819) broke out, Jantjes was sent as interpreter with the Bethelsdorp levy of men which formed part of the colonial forces.

Jantjes survived into old age. When Donald Moodie* interviewed him on 29 December 1836 he estimated his age at 70 years. The interview dealt with the period when Jantjes was a boy and his father, Old Jantje, had to deal with the trekboers. It was Jantjes's belief that Khoikhoi and Xhosa lived in peace till the arrival of the farmers, first to trade and then to settle, who drove many Khoikhoi from their kraals.

No portrayal of him could be found.

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JOLOBE, James James Ranisi (*Xhalanga district, Transkei, 25 July 1902—



†Tsolo, Transkei, 16 May 1976), Xhosa author and poet, and Presbyterian clergyman. He was the son of a Presbyterian Church of Scotland minister, James Jolobe (Sen.), who was born of Fingo parents, and Emily Nobethu, daughter of Mokhohliso of the Thembu clan, who also had strong religious convictions.

Jolobe received his primary school education in the Xhalanga district and in Matatiele, where his father was stationed as minister. He trained as a primary school teacher at St Matthew's College (Assamoah Kwame St Matthew's High School) at Keiskammahoek. In 1920 he started teaching at Masakala Primary School in the district of Matatiele. A few years afterwards he was transferred to Mabhobho and later to Lower Mvenyane in the Mount Frere district. Through private study he obtained the Junior Certificate. In 1926 he studied for a Diploma in Theological Studies at the South African Native College (University of Fort Hare). After he had matriculated in 1927, he returned to the university in 1928 and completed the B.A. (Theology) degree in 1932.

His first appointment as a minister of religion was at Estcourt in Natal, near the Tugela Basin. From Natal he was transferred to the Cape Province, first to Tarkastad, and then in 1933 to the New Brighton Presbyterian Church in Port Elizabeth. He remained there until 1937, when he was seconded by the

Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa to a tutorship at Lovedale Bible School at Alice in the Easter Cape in 1938—a position he retained until June 1949. He was then transferred to Lovedale Training College as lecturer and remained there until 1959. During this time he also served as minister at the following Presbyterian churches: John Knox Bokwe Church, Ntselamanzi at Alice, and Dorrington at Fort Beaufort. Simultaneously he was a chaplain at the Victoria Hospital in Alice.

During the years he spent at Lovedale he was actively involved in the activities of many bodies, amongst others the Presbyterian Church of South Africa General Assembly's committees for Relations with the Bantu Presbyterian Church, for Union Churches, and for African Mission Policy; the Kirk Session of the Lovedale Institution Churches; the Xhosa Language Committee; Lovedale Governing Council; the Senate of Lovedale Institution; the Health Society as honorary secretary and treasurer; and the Department of Education's Xhosa Language and Literature Committee responsible for the revision of the Xhosa Orthography.

After his resignation from Lovedale Training College in 1959 Jobobe returned to New Brighton Presbyterian Church which he served until his retirement in 1970. He served on the New Brighton Advisory Board and in the local school committees.

Jobobe joined the Interdenominational African Ministers' Association (IDAMASA) in Port Elizabeth in 1959. He became president of the Cape Midlands Region and in 1965, at the General Conference of IDAMASA in Durban, he was elected president-general for the period 1966–1969. In September 1973 he was inducted moderator of the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa. After his retirement he still played a role at academic level, serving as assistant editor in the Xhosa Dictionary Project and from 1971 to 1972 as member of the Fort Hare Advisory Council.

Jobobe began writing as a student at St Matthew's College, but it was at Fort Hare in 1931 that he seriously started writing. He was inspired by the works of Enoch Guma, William Wordsworth and Richard Scots. His first work, a novel called *Uzagula* with the ignorance and superstition entailed in witchcraft as its theme, earned him the May Esther Bedford Literature Prize in 1940. His other well-known novel is *Elundini loThugela* (1959), but he also published collections of poems, for example *Umyezo*. Jobobe translated from English to Xhosa including short stories, essays and popular children's nursery rhymes. One of his earliest translations was *Ukuphakama ukusuka ebukhobeni* (Up from Slavery, 1951), an autobiography of Booker T. Washington. Two of his last projects were the *Xhosa-English-Afrikaans dictionary* in collaboration with Prof. J.H. Pahl of Fort Hare, and the new revised *Incwadi yamaculo AmaXhosa*. His literary involvement included Lovedale Press publications. He served as advisor and was on the editorial board of the *South African outlook*.

Jobobe's religious, political and philosophical poetry is regarded as thoughts for and of his time. Through his humorous poems he gave the reader an insight into the political situation, the fashions, the customs, the languages, nature and other facets of the era. He is acclaimed as a Xhosa Wordsworth. Apart from the Bedford Prize awarded him in 1940, he also received the Vilakazi

Memorial Prize for Literature in 1952, won the first prize in a competition organized by the Afrikaanse Pers-Boekhandel in 1952, and was awarded the Margaret Wrong Prize and Medal for his contribution to literature in 1957. In July 1973 Lovedale Press presented him with two leather-bound volumes of his work in appreciation of his contribution to Xhosa literature, and in 1974 the University of Fort Hare awarded him an honorary doctorate in literature and philosophy (D.Lit. et Phil.).

Jolobe married Jean Buthelwa Nongogo in Port Elizabeth in 1937. They had one son and two daughters. He died in St Lucy's Hospital in Tsolo and was buried in Umtata.

J.H. JAHN, U. SCHILD & A. NORDMAN, *Who's who in African literature*. Tübingen, 1972; — B.E.N. MAHLASELA, *Jolobe, Xhosa poet and writer*. Grahamstown, 1973. (Department of African Languages, Rhodes University. Working Paper, no. 3); — Obituaries: *The Natal Mercury*, 22 May 1976; *The Daily Dispatch*, 28 May 1976; In memoriam minutes. In: The Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa General Assembly, September 17–24, 1976; — G.T. SIRAYI, *A study of some aspects of JJR Jolobe's poetry*. M.A. thesis, University of Fort Hare, 1985; — Private information: Rev. Moses N. Ramafikeng, Kagiso, Krugersdorp.

JORDAN, Archibald Campbell Mzoliza (AC) (*Mbokothwana Mission, Tsolo district, Transkei, 30 October 1906—†Madison, Wisconsin, United States of America (USA), 20 October 1968), Xhosa author and linguist, was the third and youngest son of the eight children of Elijah Jordan and his wife Fanny Makhosazana Mehlo. His father was a teacher and Anglican Church catechist and his family were descended from the Hlubi people who had made their home in the Tugela district.

Jordan received his primary education at Mbokothwana and then St Cuthbert's Primary School at Tsolo. With the aid of an Andrew Smith bursary he went to Lovedale Institution at Alice in the Eastern Cape where he passed the Junior Certificate. In 1923 he went to St John's College in Umtata, Transkei, to train as a teacher. He won a Transkei Bhunga merit bursary that enabled him to go to the South African Native College (University of Fort Hare) where he obtained a teacher's diploma in 1932 and a B.A. degree in 1934.

While at Fort Hare, Jordan immersed himself in a wide range of activities, including cricket, drama, music and debating. He also developed a great love for literature and became the leader of the Literary Society and editor of a literary magazine, *The sane*.

After graduating in December 1934, Jordan went to teach at Bantu High School in Kroonstad, where he remained for ten years. During this time Jordan completed a dissertation on the phonetic and grammatical structure of Baca and was awarded an M.A. degree by the University of South Africa in 1944.

On the retirement of Prof. D.D.T. Jabavu*, Jordan was appointed to the

Department of African Languages at Fort Hare in 1945. The following year he moved to the Cape Flats after being appointed a lecturer in the School of African Studies at the University of Cape Town, the first African to be appointed to such a post. In 1956 he was the first African to receive a Ph.D. at the University of Cape Town. The title of his thesis was *A phonological and grammatical study of literary Xhosa* for which he was awarded the much coveted Vilakazi Memorial Prize for Literature, bestowed annually by the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, for the most meritorious contribution to Nguni literature.

Jordan was an outspoken critic of the National Party government's Bantu Education policy. Consequently, when he was awarded a Carnegie Travel Grant to tour universities and colleges in the USA early in 1961, he was refused a passport. The refusal was deplored by English and Afrikaans medium universities alike. He was to leave in July but, without a passport and accompanied by his one son, he finally reached London in October via Botswana and Dar es Salaam in Tanzania. At the beginning of 1962 he left for the USA, where he was to lecture at the University of California at Los Angeles. However, he experienced problems attaining a visa because he did not have a passport. Eventually Jordan and the rest of his family applied for and were issued with British passports. In 1963 Jordan was appointed professor in the Department of African Languages and Literature at the University of Wisconsin-Madison.

Jordan's best-known work is probably *iNgqumbo ye miNyanya* (The wrath of the ancestors, 1940). It was acclaimed by many Xhosa readers as a masterpiece. Three books appeared posthumously: *Kwezo Mphindo zeTsitsa* (1970), *Tales from Southern Africa* (1973), and *Towards an African literature: the emergence of literary form in Xhosa* (1973).

Jordan married Priscilla Phyllis Ntantla on 2 January 1940. The couple had two sons and two daughters. One of the sons, Pallo (meaning 'destiny'), is a prominent member of the African National Congress. Jordan's widow Phyllis, who is also a writer, lives in New York in the USA.

R. SEGAL, *Political Africa: a who's who of personalities and parties*. London, 1961; — Obituaries: *The Cape Times*, 22 October 1968; *Eastern Province Herald*, 26 October 1968; — T. KARIS & G.M. CARTER (eds), *From protest to challenge: a documentary history of African politics in South Africa, 1882-1964*. 4. *Political profiles, 1882-1964*. Stanford, 1977; — W.M. KWETANA, A reconsideration of the plot structure of A.C. Jordan's *Ingqumbo ye miNyanya*. *South African journal of African languages*, 7(3), July 1987; — V. FEBRUARY, Hulle pad het myne gekruis. *Die Suid-Afrikaan*, 28, Augustus 1990; — M.A.B. NYAMENDE, Who really cares if the ancestors are angry? A.C. Jordan's *The wrath of the ancestors* (Ingqumbo ye miNyanya). *South African journal of African languages*, 11(4), November, 1991; — Tribute: *New Nation*, 10 September 1987; — P. NTANTALA, *A life's mosaic: the autobiography of Phyllis Ntantala*. Bellville & Cape Town, 1992; — Private information: Dr Pallo Jordan (son), Johannesburg.

K

KAUSOB, Kausobson (*?—†Slypklip, Vaal River, 6 July 1858), chief of a group of San that inhabited the area between the Modder, Riet and Vaal rivers (in the western Orange Free State) early in the nineteenth century. According to the anthropologist Stow (*infra*) his headquarters were beyond the Koe-doersberg along the Riet River, southwest of Kimberley, although Kausob himself cited the farm Soutpan as his home. His father was 'Kausob de Oude' (Kausob the Elder), successor to the chiefs Windhond and Nqauy, but Kausob once said that his father was named Haroppe and his grandfather Cobus, while according to Stow he was the son of 'Twa'goup. The whites nicknamed him Skeelkobus because he was blind in one eye. His name is, however, cited differently in various sources: Kousopp, Kausop, Jacobus Kousop and Skeelkoos.

A relative of Kausob, Decoie, a chief of mixed San and Korana descent, who was called Degoep or Dawid Danzer by the whites, sold the area known as Vanwyksvlei to D.S. Fourie in 1839. Whites settled there in increasing numbers. In 1845 Kausob objected to the sale since Vanwyksvlei was within his area of jurisdiction. A number of Korana under the leadership of Captain Jan Bloem Jr* investigated this complaint in the presence and possibly also under the influence of Fourie and a large group of whites, and Kausob's claim was rejected.

At this time British authority extended over Transorangia. Since tension was mounting between the various population groups around Vanwyksvlei the British Resident, H.D. Warden*, tried to eliminate friction. He awarded two tracts of land on the left bank of the Vaal River opposite its confluence with the Harts River, one to Bloem and the other to the followers of Danzer and the Korana chief Goliath Yzerbek. Because the local inhabitants still complained about raids by Kausob and his followers, Warden again visited the territory in the winter of 1850. While he was once more not prepared to acknowledge Kausob's claim, he awarded him a piece of land between the two areas mentioned above. At this stage Kausob had a following of some 200 people.

In 1854 Kausob sold the land in his reserve to farmers in exchange for, amongst other things, brandy and gunpowder. However, it was later alleged that this happened under pressure from the whites and Danzer. Moreover, as Kausob could neither read nor write, he most probably did not understand the implications of the transactions. In 1855 he lodged complaints in this regard with the government of the Orange Free State Republic (OFS) that had mean-

while come into existence, as well as against P.S. Fourie, son of D.S. Fourie, who had driven him from the farm Soutpan. In this he was supported by the former interpreter and teacher Richard Miles, a baptized Tswana who acted as agent for all the chiefs along the Vaal River and who had also clashed with whites over farms in the area that he owned. However, early in 1856 their complaints were dismissed and the correspondence on the matter ended. Some months later the first erven were sold at Vanwyksvlei and the town of Boshof developed here, thus formalizing the presence of whites in the area.

During May and June 1858, while the OFS was engaged in war with the Basuto, Kausob launched a number of attacks on whites in the area. Several white men were wounded or killed, women and children were ill-treated or abducted, and farms were burnt and cattle raided. Kausob was helped in this by a group of about 300 men of varying descent. Goliath Yzerbek and Gasebone*, a Thlaping chief from across the Vaal River, were among his allies. Understandably these events caused great concern among the white inhabitants of the OFS. A commando of 400 men—composed of 240 burgers, a number of Mfengu, and Danzer's people—under Field Commandant Hendrik Venter, assisted by J.G.M. Howell*, was called up and equipped with a canon. On 6 July 1858 they surrounded Kausob's followers near Slypklip on the Vaal River (to the north of Kimberley, just south of Windsorton) and forced them to surrender after a battle of three hours. Kausob, his brother Klaas and 129 of his followers, consisting of San, Khoikhoi, Korana and Griqua, were killed in the battle and 43 men and 50 women were captured.

On 14 July the male prisoners were escorted by Mfengu under St P.O'S. O'Brien from Boshof to Bloemfontein to be tried. However, half an hour outside the town 30 armed whites stopped them and shot all the prisoners at what has since become known as Prisonierskoppie (Prisoners' hill). This arbitrary deed apparently took place with the silent consent of Field Commandant Venter and caused much indignation on the part of President J.N. Boshof* and State Attorney A.B. Roberts*. J.J. Venter*, a member of the executive council, was subsequently instructed to investigate the matter. J.J. Raaff*, the bailiff of Bloemfontein, was ordered to arrest three inhabitants of the Boshof district but, as a result of local resistance, the strong feelings evoked by the matter and the inability of the young republic to enforce its authority, the matter was not taken any further. However, on President Boshof's instructions the women and children from Kausob's group, who had been divided among the local farmers, were freed.

As Kausob's sustained protest against his alleged dispossession was documented, it serves as a valuable record of the vain attempts by an indigenous leader to assert his authority against the whites moving in. It was apparently frustration about his powerlessness that eventually drove him to large-scale violence. It would therefore be wrong to merely regard him as a local robber and gangster. The extent of the support that he received from various indigenous groups also shows that he embodied sentiments that were real and widely felt. However, the conclusive way in which the resistance of Kausob as well as that of Gasebone of the Transvaal were suppressed and, more specifically, the murder of the prisoners in Kausob's group, made a profound impression upon

the indigenous people, and did much to discourage future resistance and to consolidate the position of the whites in the two republics.

No portrayal of him could be found.

The Friend, 1858 (passim); — G.M. THEAL, *History of South Africa from 1795 to 1872*, 3. London, 1904; — G.W. STOW, *The native races of South Africa*. London, 1905; — J.H. MALAN, *Die opkoms van 'n republiek*. Bloemfontein, 1929; — *Suid-Afrikaanse Argiefstukke: Notule van die Volksraad van die Oranje-Vrystaat. Vols 1-3, 1854-1858*. Pretoria, 1952-1960; — H.J. VAN ASWEGEN, *Die verhouding tussen blank en nie-blank in the Oranje-Vrystaat, 1854-1902. Archives yearbook of South African history*, 34(1), 1971.

KEKANA, Johannes Jane Tane (*Moletlane, near Zebediela, c.1840—†Leeuwkraal (Lecukraal, to the north of Hammanskraal), Pretoria district, 12 April 1887), a chief of the Lebelo clan of the Ndebele and the son of Lebelo Seroto and his wife NaMahlangu, a member of the Ndzundza tribe. Van Warmelo (*infra*) contends that Kekana was one of twins, but had not been killed at birth as the other twin, thus following the Nguni tradition.

Shortly after the arrival of the Voortrekkers in the Transvaal, Lebelo broke away from the Ndebele in the area of the present-day Potgietersrus. Sources differ on the reasons for this move. According to Breutz (*infra*), Chief Maboyaboya favoured Lebelo although he was the son of the third hut (not the son of the chief wife). This endangered Lebelo's life and he was advised to leave. Van Warmelo merely states that Lebelo's elder brother succeeded as chief and then used Lebelo as a representative and messenger. Eventually he feared that Lebelo might become too powerful and therefore suggested that Lebelo leave.

Lebelo and his followers moved southward from Moletlane and settled at Nokanapedi on Rhenosterfontein in the vicinity of Rust de Winter, between the Elands and Enkeldoring rivers. They next moved further west and lived for some time east of the Apies River near Boschplaats (Bosplaas), north of Hammanskraal. In about 1860 they moved to the nearby farm Haakdoornfontein on the Pienaars River, just north of Wallmannsthal. Upon Lebelo's death (between 1870 and 1875) Kekana succeeded him as captain.

Before Kekana became leader of his tribe, he apparently worked in the Cape Colony to get guns. There, seemingly, he acquired a measure of education and collected some tribesmen. This gave rise to his desire for more instruction for him and his tribe. Probably as a result of this desire he made various requests to the Transvaal government and the Berlin Missionary Society (BMS) between 1867 and 1869 to have a missionary stationed at his kraal. During this time he sometimes attended church services in the small Berlin missionary church in Pretoria.

After the establishment of the Wallmannsthal missionary station (south of Hammanskraal, and 27 km northeast of Pretoria) in 1869 by F.C.C.A. Grünberger* and C.P.G. Knothe*, missionaries of the BMS, Kekana and his people moved there. Here he learnt to write, was baptized, and initially showed his goodwill by, amongst other things, personally giving up polygamy. Eventually some of the Ndebele customs and Kekana's status as captain came into conflict

with Christianity and he clashed publicly with Knothe. The increasing hostility can also be attributed to legislation (Act no. 9 of 1870) of the Transvaal Republic that not only restricted the movement of Africans, but enforced the carrying of a pass, and levied a tax on every hut. It furthermore stipulated that not more than five families may live in one location which meant that the whole tribe could no longer live at the mission station. Kekana therefore left Wallmannsthal in 1872 and eventually settled on the farm Leeuwkraal, a few kilometres northwest of Wallmannsthal. Leeuwkraal at that time belonged to one Erasmus; Kekana and his followers worked for him on the farm. (It was only during the chieftainship of his son Karel Seroto that the tribe bought the farm.) After a period of what the missionaries described as moral decline, and after Knothe's departure from Wallmannsthal, Kekana restored his ties with the BMS in 1878.

At Leeuwkraal Kekana tried to improve the education of his people, by *inter alia* appointing an African teacher and later obtaining the services of a teacher-evangelist. His desire for a small church at Leeuwkraal became reality in 1882. In 1884 Kekana was very dissatisfied when H.T. Wangemann*, director of the BMS, did not call at Leeuwkraal. After a meeting between them at Wallmannsthal, the dispute was settled.

The Transvaal government obviously had a good relationship with Kekana and sometimes made use of his assistance. In April 1887 when Kekana became seriously ill, the government sent a doctor to Leeuwkraal at the request of his son. Kekana, however, died on 12 April 1887 and was buried at Wallmannsthal. He was succeeded by his son Seroto Karel Kekana.

Being a Christian, Kekana had only one wife who was either called Nontwa or Makgoboketsa. They had five sons and two daughters.

In many respects Kekana can be regarded as a remarkable captain. He had considerably more education than the average African of his time, was known as a Christian and made a good impression on both the missionaries and the Boers. Although Kekana was a less important African captain in the Transvaal Republic, a study of him and his followers is of interest on account of their contact with white missionaries, farmers and the government. Valuable information has come to the fore regarding the pressure of Western and Christian values on an African tribe and their traditional views and customs, and also their reactions to the pressure. Despite the often one-sided approach, the documents of the missionaries of the BMS yielded detailed descriptions of this interaction.

No portrayal of him could be found.

Transvaal Archives, Pretoria: Series on Staatsekretaris (SS), Uitvoerende Raad (UR), Superintendent van Naturelle (SN) and Landdros van Pretoria; — *Berliner Missionsberichte*, 1866-1882; — H.T. WANGEMANN, *Geschichte der Berliner Missionsgesellschaft und ihrer Arbeiten in Südafrika ... 4. Die Berliner Mission im Bassuto-Lande*. Berlin, 1877; — H.T. WANGEMANN, *Ein zweites Reisejahr in Süd-Afrika ...* Berlin, 1886; — F. JEPPE, *De locale wetten der Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek, 1849-1885*. Pretoria, 1887; — TRANSVAAL NATIVE AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT, *Short history of the native tribes of the Transvaal*. Pretoria, 1905; — GREAT BRITAIN, WAR OFFICE, *The native tribes of the Transvaal*. London, 1905; — N.J. VAN WARMELO, *Transvaal Ndebele texts*. Pretoria, 1930. (Department of Native Affairs.

Ethnological publications, no. 1); — N.J. VAN WARMELO, *A preliminary survey of the Bantu tribes of South Africa*. Pretoria, 1935. (Department of Native Affairs, Ethnological publications, no. 5); — N.J. VAN WARMELO, *The Ndebele of J. Kekana*. Pretoria, 1944. (Department of Native Affairs, Ethnological publications, no. 18). (Bound in one volume with nos 17-22); — T.S. VAN ROOYEN, *Die kronieke van Wallmannsthal*. *Pretoriana*, 3(2)-4(2), 1953-1954; — J.S. BERGH, *Die Bertynse Sendinggenootskap in Pretoria en omgewing, 1866-1881*. M.A. thesis. University of South Africa, 1974; — P.-L. BREUTZ, *A history of the Batswana and origin of Bophuthatswana*. Ramsgate, 1989; — Private information: Mrs Ester Kekana (widow of Hans Kekana, great-grandson, and regent after her husband's death), Majaneng, Bophuthatswana (North-West Province).

KIRK, Henrietta Georgina (Netta) (*Matatiele, 1 July 1892—†Rustfontein,



Kokstad district, 15 February 1975), cheesemaker, factory manager and technical supervisor in the cheesemaking industry, was one of the eight children—five daughters and three sons—of Adam and Henrietta Kirk, Irish immigrants who settled in East Griqualand. She was educated at Matatiele and Kokstad. While still a pupil at the Holy Cross Convent, Kokstad, she became an accomplished horsewoman and a powerful swimmer. In her early twenties she rescued a girl from very rough seas at Winklespruit at considerable risk to herself. For this deed she received the Gold Medal of the Royal Humane Society.

She spent many school holidays at the Moxham farm in East Griqualand where cheese was made. At first she helped with this complex process that turned liquid, perishable milk into a solid, stable, palatable product. Gradually her interest in the process grew until she realized that she had found her calling.

After leaving school she was employed as cheesemaker by H.G. (Jack) Moxham, the son of her first employer. She first worked on his farm, and then in his factory near Kokstad which opened on 7 October 1914. At this time cattle received little or no supplementary feeding in winter so that milk production decreased greatly and cheese factories closed. In the winter of 1916 Kirk spent three months gaining experience in New Zealand cheese factories before returning to her previous employment.

In 1926 dairy farmers in the Peddie district of the Eastern Cape established a cheese factory and invited Kirk to become its manager. When she arrived at the 'factory' at Cross Roads near Peddie, she found an empty room about nine metres square. Her first task was to equip it. She managed to collect equipment, much of it second-hand and limited to the bare essentials. There was also no piped water; every drop had to be conveyed in milk cans on an ox-drawn Scotch cart.

Kirk worked under extremely difficult conditions. Everything was done by hand, from emptying and washing the cans to stirring the curd in the vat—often for hours to allow the needed acidity to develop—to the moulding and handling

of the cheese. There were no pasteurizers—the first one was installed in the Cross Roads factory in October 1938—and the milk was often of appalling quality. She waged a constant battle with the farmers to get them to improve the quality. Amid all this she was a strict disciplinarian, demanding almost as much from her staff as she did from herself. Her name among the African staff was Monqonjo which conveyed the concept of 'driving force'. However, when any of her African staff or their families were ill no one could be more sympathetic and she went to great lengths to help them.

In 1932 a branch factory was opened on the farm Fort Montgomery near Breakfast Vlei. By this time Kirk had trained several assistant cheesemakers who worked under her supervision and direction. These two factories together soon handled about 22 500 litres of milk a day. In 1936 the cheese factory at Kroomie, which received some 13 500 litres of milk a day, was taken over and the group was reorganized as the Fort Montgomery Cheese Factory (Pty) Ltd. Later, smaller factories at Glenthorn and Doornfontein were added. Under Kirk's iron hand the company flourished and reached a production of over 4 500 kg of cheese a day.

Kirk's association with the Fort Montgomery company lasted some 30 years, during the last 20 years as technical supervisor of the group. She then lived in East London but visited each factory at least once a month to exercise control over the quality of the cheese, the condition of the factory and the neatness of the cheesemaker and his staff.

Kirk did not only train the cheesemakers in the various factories of the group. A number of people came to her for training in the craft, in spite of the fact that many of them already had professional or academic qualifications in dairying. She set extremely high standards.

She could also meet international competition. As early as 1919 Kirk received a first prize and a gold medal at the London Dairy Show in competition with cheesemakers from all parts of the British Empire. At the British Empire Exhibition in Ontario, Canada, in 1938, she received the Diploma of Honour for her cheese.

Kirk retired from the Fort Montgomery company in 1956, but is known to have been involved in cheesemaking in East Griqualand in 1966 when she was 74 years old. On her retirement Kirk moved to a small farm, Harmony, near Stutterheim.

Kirk was a deeply caring person, very friendly to children and animals, and prepared to become personally involved, even to the extent of adopting three children—a boy, Noel, and two girls, Elizabeth and Jemma. When Elizabeth died, Kirk adopted her two daughters and brought them up.

Over all the years she maintained contact with the Moxham family who frequently spent holidays at Harmony. In her early seventies she sold Harmony and from about 1964 stayed with her daughter, Jemma, in Port Elizabeth. On 15 November 1969, at the age of 77, she married her former employer, Jack Moxham. She spent her last years quietly on the Moxham family farm Rustfontein in the Kokstad district.

C.W. ABBOTT, Miss Kirk: cheesemaker extraordinary. *South African journal of dairy*

technology, 5(2), 1973; — Obituaries: *Kokstad Advertiser and East Griqualand Gazette*, 20 February 1975; *Free Press Newspapers* (Adelaide, C.P.), 5 March 1975; — Private information: Mr Jack Moxham (husband), Kokstad; Mr K.S. Moxham (brother-in-law), Kokstad; Mr A.M. Moxham (half-brother to Jack Moxham), Kokstad; Mrs Jemma Watt-Pringle (adopted daughter), Cedarville; Mr D. Reynolds (manager, Cross Roads factory); Mr L. Jaffe (director, Fort Montgomery Cheese Factory (Pty) Ltd).

KOK, Corneli(u)s II (*probably Kamiesberg, ?—†Campbell, early in 1858), chief of the Griqua who settled at Campbell in Griqualand West during the first half of the nineteenth century. He was the second son of Cornelis Kok I*, and the grandson of Adam Kok I*, the founder of the Griqua people. Kok was the younger brother of Adam Kok II*, the Griqua chief of Philippolis.

Little is known about the youth, education and marital status of Kok. It is also unknown whether he accompanied his father, brother and their followers when they originally crossed the Orange River and settled at a number of springs between Prieskasdrif and Danielskuil, with their headquarters at Klaatwater (renamed Griquatown in 1813). If it was the case, Kok must have accompanied his father when the latter temporarily handed over his power to Kok's elder brother, Adam Kok II, and returned to Kamiesberg. By 1813 Kok and a group of followers found themselves south of the Orange River where Rev. John Campbell* visited them. With his father, Kok trekked to Griquatown in 1816. As a result of rows with missionaries who, in the meantime, had expanded their influence over a section of the heterogeneous inhabitants of the area, Kok's father (like Barend Barends*) left Griquatown and settled at Campbell—formerly known as Knoffelvlei, then Grootfontein and by 1846 known as Campbellsdorp. Kok and his brother Abraham followed their father there and were joined by the major part of the Koks's original followers. Cornelis Kok I acted as independent captain until 1820 when he resigned and, since his eldest son Adam Kok II was absent, handed over power to Kok.

In the meantime Adam Kok II in Griquatown had fallen into disfavour with the missionaries. After the election of Andries Waterboer* as captain there in 1820, he moved with his followers to Campbell in the same year. Although as eldest son he took over the chieftainship from Cornelis Kok, he was evidently not keen to hold this position. Thus he did not stay at Campbell for very long, but chose a nomadic life as leader of a group known as the Bergenaars. Cornelis Kok again accepted the chief's sceptre and was officially elected in 1824 as chief of Campbell in the place of his brother, a step acknowledged by the Cape government on the recommendation of its agent among the Griqua, J. Melvill*.

Initially Kok maintained good relations with Waterboer and the other Griqua leaders. Quarrels among the various Griqua factions were temporarily settled when Kok, together with Waterboer, Barends and his brother Adam, participated in the well-known battle of Dithakong, northeast of Kuruman, in 1823 when a joint force of the Hlakhwane, Fokong and Phuting was defeated. In this way they freed their area from the devastation of the *difaqane*.

Conflict arose between Waterboer and the Bergenaars, former followers of Kok's brother Adam Kok II who had left Philippolis in the western

Transorangia shortly after having settled there. Kok reluctantly supported Waterboer. In 1824 he and Waterboer jointly beat the Bergenaars at Sleutelspoort near Fauresmith and took away many head of cattle. Kok's followers, however, supported the Bergenaars and Campbell became virtually deserted. In order to save his chieftainship, Kok broke with Waterboer and thus started a conflict that continued for the rest of his life. This conflict first became evident in a struggle for land, which was temporarily resolved when Adam Kok II was called in as peacemaker and a border was established between Waterboer (Griquatown) and Kok (Campbell). This border simultaneously served as a dividing line between the territories of Waterboer and Barend Barends with whom Kok had a good relationship.

In the early 1830s the conflict intensified when Dr John Philip*, supported by Waterboer, attempted to replace Cornelis Kok and Adam Kok II, and place their territories and subjects under the jurisdiction of Waterboer. The Cape government, however, was not prepared to violate the agreements made with them. Kok himself barely paid attention to rumours in this regard. In fact, when Barends left Boetsap in the northeast, halfway between Barkly East and Taung, Kok took over command of that area and extended his power.

Waterboer, however, had not forsaken his plans to eliminate Kok. Attempts to buy out Kok were unsuccessful, as was Waterboer's strategy to accuse Kok of various misdeeds and bring him into disrepute with the Cape government.

Kok also became involved in the struggle for the leadership of the Griqua faction at Philippolis that started after the death of Adam Kok II in 1836. This struggle gave Waterboer the opportunity to attempt to take action against him. Despite the interference of the missionaries there, Abraham Kok was preferred as chief above his brother Adam III. In July 1837 Abraham was, however, deprived of his chieftainship as a result of missionary involvement. Abraham and his followers fled to his uncle (Kok) at Campbell and a small-scale civil war evolved. Cornelis Kok and Jan Bloem*, the Korana leader, supported Abraham, while Waterboer took sides with the newly elected Adam Kok III. The struggle was of little avail, since Adam retained the leadership. It did, however, result in action against Kok, since at a combined meeting of the Griqua councils of Philippolis and Griquatown, it was decided to discharge Kok as a leader. According to an agreement on 9 November 1838 between Adam Kok III and Waterboer, Kok's territory was divided between them along the Ramah-Davidsgraf-Platberg line. Kok's followers would henceforth be under the jurisdiction of Waterboer. The dismissal was confirmed by the missionaries, but since it was an arbitrary and illegal act, the Cape government did not ratify it. Kok himself slighted the dismissal and continued to be chief as before.

A further bone of contention between Kok and Waterboer was the possession of land south of the Vaal River. In 1840 Kok and Jan Bloem concluded a treaty that determined a dividing line between their territories south of the Vaal River and the land occupied by the cattle farmers moving in from the south. Despite Waterboer's claims to the territory west of the Ramah-Platberg line, in 1840 Kok and Jan Bloem started selling the land there to cattle farmers.

With the British annexation of Transorangia in 1848 the British authorities once again recognized Kok as chief, but regarded the territory south of the

Vaal River, which both Kok and Waterboer claimed, as part of the Orange River Sovereignty. Individual property rights of Griqua who occupied farms there were nevertheless recognized. As Kok's followers sold their land they moved away and by 1850 his subjects numbered less than 200 families, almost all of them living north of the Vaal River.

However, the struggle between Kok and Waterboer for the possession of the remaining land south of the Orange River continued. Even Waterboer's death in 1852 did not end the struggle because it was continued by Waterboer's son, Nicholaas*. Attempts at arbitration were of no avail. After the Orange Free State Republic (OFS) had gained independence with the Bloemfontein Convention in 1854, the new government acted as facilitator. Following negotiations with both parties, Adam Kok III was appointed as arbitrator. He pursued a middle course and divided the disputed area along the Vetberg line in 1855. This measure was acknowledged by the OFS Volksraad, because at that stage Cornelis Kok and his subjects had already sold all their land to OFS farmers.

Subsequently Kok ruled his followers at Campbell fairly peacefully. In 1857, when he was already old and sickly, he handed over his chief's sceptre and chieftainship of the Campbell land to his cousin Adam Kok III at Philipopolis. His followers supported him in this action. He died early in 1858.

Although Kok did not play as important a role in the Griqua history as his father, brothers or the Waterboers, he was an eminent contemporary leader who occupied an important position in the struggles among the various Griqua factions. Because the Cape government recognized his position, he could hold his own against his opponents. He was highly regarded by white and black.

No portrayal of him could be found.

Cape Archives, Cape Town: Griqualand West Land Court Records, GLWLC 24; — *British parliamentary papers*, C.459-'71, C.508-'72, C.732-'73; — Appendix to the Votes and Proceedings of the House of Assembly, A.39-71, G.21-71, G.15-72; — Cape Blue Books: *Evidence taken at Bloemfontein before the commission appointed to investigate the claims of the South African Republic, Captain N. Waterboer, Chief of West Griqualand, and certain other native chiefs, to portions of the territory on the Vaal river now known as the Diamond Fields*. Cape Town, 1871; — A.F. LINDLEY, *Adamantia: the truth about the South African diamond fields*. London, 1873; — D. ARNOT & J.M. ORPEN, *The land question in Griqualand West*. Cape Town, 1875; — J.A.I. AGAR-HAMILTON, *The road to the north: South Africa, 1852-1886*. London, 1937; — J.J. OBERHOLSTER, *Die anneksasie van Griekwaland-Wes*. *Archives yearbook of South African history*, 8, 1945; — S.J. HALFARD, *The Griquas of Griqualand: a historical narrative of the Griqua people*. Cape Town, [1949]; — W.B. CAMPBELL, *The South African frontier, 1865-1885: a study in expansion*. *Archives yearbook of South African history*, 22(1), 1959; — R. DE V. PRETORIUS, *Die geskiedenis van die 'Vrystaatse Griekwas'*. M.A. thesis. University of the Orange Free State, 1963; — M.C. LEGASSICK, *The Griqua, the Sotho-Tswana, and the missionaries, 1780-1840: the politics of a frontier zone*. Ph.D. thesis. University of California, 1969; — Kok, Adam. In: *Standard encyclopaedia of Southern Africa*, 6. Cape Town, 1972; — J.J. OBERHOLSTER, *Griquas*. In: *Standard encyclopaedia of Southern Africa*, 5. Cape Town, 1972; — R. ROSS, *Adam Kok's Griquas: a study in the development of stratification in South Africa*. Cambridge, 1976; — SUID-AFRIKA. PRESIDENTSRAAD, *Verslag van die Grondwetkomitee van die Presidentsraad oor die behoeftes en eise van die Griekwas*. Cape Town, 1983. (P.R. 2/1983); — K. SHILLINGTON, *The colonisation of the Southern Tswana*. Johannesburg, 1985.

KOTANE, Moses Mauane (Malume) (*Tamosstad, Rustenburg district, 9 August 1905—†Moscow, USSR (Russia), 21 May 1978), political functionary and composer, was the second son among the eleven children of Samuel Segogwane and Siporah Mmadira Kotane, highly literate and prominent members of their community. Kotane's parents were also involved in the local Lutheran Church, his father acting *inter alia* as a lay preacher. In 1918 Kotane went to work as a farmhand and then, at the age of fifteen, went to a local Setswana school—a Lutheran Bible school. In 1921 he attended an English tribal school and left a year later after passing Standard 2.



Starting to work at seventeen on the Witwatersrand, Kotane worked alternately as a photographer's assistant, domestic servant, miner and bakery worker. He later enrolled at the communist-run night school and soon caught up the backlog in his general education. In 1928 he joined the African National Congress (ANC) but found it an ineffectual organization. The same year he joined the African Bakers' Union. The following year he joined the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA, South African Communist Party (SACP) after 1953) and soon became the vice-chairperson of the trade union federation, as well as a member of the CPSA's political bureau.

In 1931 Kotane became a full-time CPSA functionary, a party then racked by internal conflict. Working both as a CPSA and a union organizer, he was, amongst other things, composer of the communist newspaper *Umsebenzi*. Being one of the most promising young African members, the CPSA leadership decided to send him to study politics at the Lenin School in Moscow from 1931 to 1932). Of this period Kotane later wrote the following: "It was at the Lenin School that I learnt how to think politically. They taught me the logical method of argument, political analysis. From that time onwards I was never at a loss when it came to summing up a situation." Kotane was heavily influenced by the teachings of Potekhin, Zusmanowich and the Hungarian, Sik.

In 1935, because of Kotane's ideological dispute with Lazar Bach, then chairperson of the CPSA (Kotane wanted to Africanize and nationalize the CPSA), he was suspended from the CPSA's political bureau. He left Johannesburg for Cape Town and in 1937 became involved in the publication of the paper *The African Defender*. During his stay in Cape Town he attempted to structure the ANC along Communist Party lines, in other words decision-making from the bottom and not from the top.

The war years (1939–1945) marked Kotane's rise in resistance politics. It started with him being restored to his original post in the CPSA. On 29 December 1938 he was elected as general secretary of the CPSA—a position he eventually held for close to 40 years. Closer co-operation was sought with the ANC and this eventually culminated in a joint committee to draft a Bill of Rights (the so-called Atlantic Charter) and to launch a united attack on the pass laws. In 1946 Kotane was elected to the national executive of the ANC.

When the CPSA was banned in 1950, Kotane moved from Cape Town, which had been the CPSA's headquarters, back to Johannesburg. Kotane was one of the first to be banned under the Suppression of Communism Act, but he ignored the ban to speak in support of the Defiance Campaign in June 1952. In December 1952 he was tried with other leaders of the Defiance Campaign and given a suspended sentence.

Although one of the architects of the Congress Alliance, he was not present at the launching of the historic Congress of the People in Kliptown on 26 June 1955. In 1955 he attended the conference of Third World leaders in Bandung, Indonesia, as an observer and remained abroad for the better part of that year, travelling widely in Asia and Eastern Europe. He met world leaders such as Nasser and Nehru.

Charged with treason in December 1956, he remained a defendant in the Treason Trial until charges against him were dropped in November 1958. During the 1960 state of emergency he was detained for four months, and in late 1962 he was placed under 24-hour house arrest. In early 1963 he left for Tanzania, where he became the treasurer-general for the ANC in exile. During the consultative conference at Morogoro, Tanzania, in 1969 he was re-elected to the national executive of the ANC.

In 1968 he suffered a stroke and was hospitalized in the Soviet Union. He never fully recovered and died in 1978. He was buried in Moscow.

Largely self-taught, Kotane had an urge for self-improvement—even while in hospital he attempted to learn Swahili and Russian. As an author and orator Kotane spurned high-flown theories for the realities of practical politics. Although a strict disciplinarian, his followers fondly called him Malume (uncle).

He inherited a disjointed and divided CPSA but left it united and resolute. However, with the disintegration of the Soviet Union in the 1990s, old Soviet records became available which claimed that a so-called Kotane faction orchestrated the division in order to take over the CPSA in 1939. Furthermore, these records claimed that this faction provided the trumped-up charges which led to the arrest, conviction and eventual death of Lazar Bach, and of Maurice and Paul Richter while they were visiting Russia. These events should, however, also be linked to the Africanization of the CPSA. In the period between the two world wars (1918–1939) Africans experienced communism as practised by the CPSA to a great extent as racist. For example, Emil Solomon (Solly) Sachs* ran segregated garment worker unions in the interwar years, and the CPSA newspaper was in favour of tribalism for the Africans. Under Kotane's leadership the CPSA/SACP gained a reputation as one of the most Stalinist parties in the world, and under his reign prominent leaders such as Joe Slovo and Chris Hani rose. Kotane was one of the few who could bridge the gap between the SACP and the ANC and hold them together in the years of turmoil in South Africa. For this he received the ANC national award of *Isitwalandwe* (hero of the National Liberation Struggle—a title once bestowed upon Xhosa heroes for exceptional courage and service) and the Soviet Order of the Friendship of the Peoples.

His was first married to Sophie Human. They had two sons. This marriage

ended in a divorce. Soon afterwards Kotane married Rebecca Selutle. Out of this wedlock two sons were born.

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KUMALO, Alfred Assegai (Mkhonto) (*Edendale, Pietermaritzburg, 4 January 1879—†Edendale, Pietermaritzburg, 9 December 1966), Zulu choirmaster and composer, was one of five children of very strict and religious Christian parents. Both his parents were musical and were members of the Edendale Church Choir.



At the age of four his parents moved to Amajuba in the southeast of the Transvaal Republic where Kumalo herded cattle. Though forbidden by his parents to play with the local boys, Kumalo secretly did and so came into contact with traditional Zulu song, dance and dress. Kumalo received his first schooling at home from his mother, and then at school at Edendale. In 1891 he was admitted to the

Nuttall Training Institution where he completed Standard 9 in 1893.

In 1894 his family moved to the Witwatersrand, first to Krugersdorp and then in 1895 to Johannesburg, where Kumalo served for a while as an ox-wagon driver in his father's business, ferrying goods from Natal to Johannesburg. However, he also took other jobs, such as office-boy, interpreter and clerk. The following year he worked as a messenger at the Jubilee Gold Mining Company. After the rinderpest had wiped out the oxen of the business he had taken over from his father, he worked for the Goldsmith Alliance in 1898. His stay on the Witwatersrand exposed him to a variety of Western musical instruments and influences which were later used in his compositions.

At the outbreak of the South African War in 1899 he returned to Natal—mostly on foot, since the Natal Railway had been commandeered by the Transvaal Republic, but partly also in a whites-only railway truck in the company of an Englishman whom he had impressed with his musical skills.

From 1900 Kumalo held a number of jobs in Pietermaritzburg. He worked as a clerk with the Pietermaritzburg Municipality Native Affairs Department; as a dairyman; and as an instructor in Zulu to the Borough Police—a position

he retained until 1910. In 1906 he joined the Natal Native Horse Regiment which took part in the suppression of the Bambatha* Rebellion. From 1912 to 1916 he was a building contractor, first in Krugersdorp and then in Randfontein, erecting wood and corrugated iron buildings. With the scarcity of building material during World War I (1914–1918) he returned to Durban. He held various clerical positions in Durban until 1952. In 1954 he joined the Edendale Hospital staff as telephone operator, and remained there until his retirement in 1961.

Kumalo showed a talent for music from an early age—for example in ditties when asking for bread or when beating out a rhythm on a tin drum. In 1903 he joined the Edendale Church Choir which performed in the Durban City Hall and, in 1908, in the Pietermaritzburg City Hall. In 1923 he formed the Zulu Male-voice Party in Durban which remained active until he left in 1952. He also led the close harmony group Kings of Harmony, winners of many trophies. Both these choirs performed traditional songs. In 1950 Kumalo was a member of the cast of the British film version of the novel *Cry the beloved country* by Alan Paton.

Kumalo's first attempt at composition was in 1899, the song 'Sanibona'. The composition was destroyed in a fire in 1913, but he never rewrote it. By 1920 he was composing in Zulu for young and old alike—choral, religious and secular works, mainly in ternary form. Five of these songs were widely acclaimed and are still regarded by all African choirs as among the best of the Zulu choral repertoire.

After his retirement in 1961 he was often commissioned to write church music. In July 1966 he suffered a stroke from which he did not recover. He was married.

Kumalo had a sparkling personality and a good command of English, even in old age. He was also a founder member and the first secretary of the Bantu Social Centre in Beatrice Street, Durban (YMCA). He served until 1949 as assistant superintendent and later superintendent.

In 1967 Shuter and Shooter published 24 of his songs in *Isingoma zika Kumalo*. Kumalo's compositions are listed in D.K. Rycroft and Y. Huskisson (both *infra*).

Y. HUSKISSON, *The Bantu composers of Southern Africa*. [Johannesburg], 1969; — Y. HUSKISSON, *The Bantu composers of Southern Africa. Supplement*, edited by J.P. Malan. Pretoria, 1983; — D.K. RYCROFT, Black South African music since the 1890s: some reminiscences of Alfred Assegai Kumalo (1879–1966). *African music*, 7(1), 1991.

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LA GUMA, James Arnold (Jimmy) (*Bloemfontein, 23 August 1894—†Cape



Town, 29 July 1961), trade unionist and political activist, was the elder of two children born to an itinerant cobbler, Arnold, and his wife Jemima. While the domestic circumstances of the La Guma family, which was of French-Malagasy origin, are obscure during this period, it is known that La Guma was orphaned when he was but five years old. He and his sister, Marinette, were at first cared for by a washerwoman and later adopted by an uncle, James Mansfield, who lived in Parow on the outskirts of Cape Town.

At the age of eight La Guma got his first job, working long hours at a Parow bakery. When his guardian moved to Cape Town a year or two later, he could attend school. While in Standard 2, he was forced to abandon his education to help support the household. After working as a messenger for a while, La Guma entered an apprenticeship as a leather worker in 1907. Being an avid reader and preferring to spend his pocket money at the second-hand bookstalls on the Grand Parade, he all the while advanced his own education.

Even before he had reached his teens, La Guma had started identifying with the struggles of the labouring poor. He was deeply impressed by R. Tressall's *The ragged trousered philanthropists* that recounted the life and struggles of the English working classes. Growing up in poverty in recession-hit Cape Town in the period following the South African War (1899-1902), La Guma was no stranger to the privations and discontent of the labouring classes. He got his first taste of spontaneous working-class political action when he participated in the so-called 'hooligan riots' that engulfed Cape Town for several days in 1906.

In 1910 La Guma and two friends, responded to an advertisement for 'Cape boy' labour in German South West Africa (Namibia) out of a desire for adventure. At the age of sixteen La Guma thus found himself on the dock at Luderitz where he was indentured to a German cattle farmer for a few years. He subsequently worked for a while on the railways under harshly exploitative conditions. The outbreak of World War I (1914-1918), however, found him labouring on the diamond diggings around Kolmanskop. Because of poor

working conditions on the diamond fields, La Guma together with a few fellow diggers formed a workers' committee in 1918 and organized a strike. This venture ended with striking workers being led from the diamond fields under armed guard.

Blacklisted from working on the diggings, La Guma drifted through several jobs during the next three years. In 1919 he was arrested, but fined only one shilling by a sympathetic magistrate for his part in organizing a campaign against coloureds having to wear the 'blik-pas', a metal identity disk worn on the arm. Impressed with the aims and the militancy of Clements Kadalie's* Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU), La Guma was instrumental in setting up an ICU branch at Luderitz the following year and was elected branch secretary.

In 1921 La Guma returned to Cape Town at the request of Kadalie who recognized that the young man's enthusiasm for the workers' cause and his organizational ability would be an asset to the rapidly growing ICU. His first major assignment for the ICU was to revive its Port Elizabeth branch that had lapsed after police had suppressed an ICU demonstration in the city in October 1920. Having proven his mettle as an organizer in Port Elizabeth, La Guma was elected assistant general secretary of the ICU in 1923 and returned to Cape Town. Here he helped establish an efficient administrative system for the organization and had a hand in setting up its official organ, the *Worker's Herald*, published from April 1923 onwards. It was in the ICU of the early 1920s that La Guma met John Gomas* who was to become a close associate throughout his active political career.

La Guma joined the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA, South African Communist Party (SACP) after 1953) in 1925 and was elected to its Central Committee in 1926. Being one of Kadalie's closest lieutenants, he went to live in Johannesburg in the same year because the ICU had moved its headquarters there. However, he returned to Cape Town at the end of 1926 after being expelled from the ICU in a purge of CPSA members.

La Guma subsequently devoted his energies to the CPSA and the African National Congress (ANC). In 1927 he was elected secretary of the Cape Town branch of the ANC and the following year became the organization's secretary for the Western Cape. In February 1927 he travelled to Brussels, Belgium, as CPSA delegate to the first international conference of the League Against Imperialism. After the conference La Guma was invited to tour Germany and give lectures. He surprised audiences with his fluency in the language. He went on to visit the Soviet Union (USSR) in the company of ANC president, J.T. Gumede*. Later that year he returned to the USSR at the invitation of the Soviet government to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the October Revolution (1917).

La Guma is reputed to have displayed Africanist leanings already in the early 1920s by expressing a desire for the emergence of a stronger black political leadership and being sceptical of the value of white workers to the revolutionary movement. He argued that white workers, realizing that their privilege rested on the exploitation of the black proletariat, could not be relied upon to support any revolutionary initiative. This tendency was greatly

strengthened by his experience at the Brussels conference and his visits to the USSR where he held discussions with Bukharin and other officials of Communism International (Comintern) on strategies for achieving black liberation in South Africa. It is thus no surprise that he returned to South Africa an ardent exponent of the Comintern's new approach to the 'colonial question': establishing independent, democratic, 'native' republics as a step towards the overthrow of capitalism in the colonial empires. La Guma adopted this controversial stance because he felt the empowerment of a black political leadership to be crucial to the success of communism in South Africa. He also argued that this strategy would win a mass base for the CPSA by harnessing the nationalist aspirations of blacks, especially within the petty bourgeoisie.

In April 1928 La Guma moved to Johannesburg to take up the post of general secretary of the CPSA's newly established Federation of Non-European Trade Unions. Unfortunately, the detrimental effect of the Highveld climate on his toddler son forced him to resign and return to Cape Town within a few months. Here he once again threw himself headlong into the hurly-burly of labour and protest politics. He was active in the Cape Town branch of the ANC and especially enjoyed helping run the 'African Labour College', an informal school set up by the CPSA to teach workers elementary literacy, some conventional school subjects as well as Marxist political doctrine. During this period La Guma and other activists, such as John Gomas and Ray Alexander, were involved in a wide range of trade union activity, especially in the tobacco, laundry, railway, harbour, canning and chemical industries. In 1929, while organizing protests by unemployed workers, La Guma was fined £10 for leading an illegal procession, and in 1931 he was fined £5 for his part in attempts by the South African Garment Workers' Union to prevent scabs from working during one of the union's strikes.

Although a committed communist, La Guma fell foul of the CPSA hierarchy during this period because he was not prepared to toe the CPSA line strictly and because his Africanist sentiments alienated him from its largely white leadership. In 1929 La Guma was expelled from the CPSA for breach of discipline when he canvassed for an opponent of Douglas Wolton, CPSA chairperson, in the general elections of that year. Three months after being readmitted in 1931, La Guma was expelled a second time for ignoring a CPSA directive that he refuse aid from non-CPSA unions in a strike he was helping to organize. Heated clashes with Lazar Bach, one of the more doctrinaire members of the CPSA, over this and other issues did not promote his cause.

After four years in the political wilderness, La Guma re-entered active politics as a founder member of the National Liberation League (NLL), a largely coloured political organization that sought to unite blacks in a common stand against segregation. He was elected secretary at its inaugural conference in 1935 and was editor of its newspaper, the *Liberator*, published for a few months during 1937. La Guma played a prominent role in the NLL's anti-segregationist protests and is accredited with having composed the organization's anthem, 'Dark Folks Arise'. He was, however, expelled from the NLL in April 1939 largely as a result of his insistence that the organization restrict its leadership to blacks. Objecting especially to the prominent role that white

CPSA leaders such as Sam Kahn and Harry Snitcher were allowed to play in the organization, he allowed his CPSA membership to lapse. In July 1939 La Guma, together with a small group of followers, formed the National Development League (NDL). The NDL, with its policy of fostering black economic independence under black political leadership, lasted but a few months. In 1939 and again in 1940 La Guma stood unsuccessfully for election to the Cape Town City Council as the 'Working Man's Candidate'.

Thoroughly disillusioned with politics and with the South African left wing La Guma, at the age of 46, understated his age in order to join the Indian Malay Corps in 1940. He rationalized this move by taking issue with the left-wing stance that the working class should wash its hands of the Second World War (1939-1945) as a matter strictly between the imperialist powers. He argued that the Second World War was an anti-Fascist war—in reality a continuation of the Spanish Civil War—and that socialists thus had a duty to volunteer. He spent seven years in the Corps, attained the rank of staff sergeant and saw service in East and North Africa.

Upon being demobilized in 1947, La Guma rejoined the CPSA, was elected to its Central Committee and served in this capacity until the CPSA's dissolution after the passage of the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950. In the meantime he was also involved in an abortive attempt to revive the African Political Organization and was unsuccessful in a third attempt at being elected to the Cape Town City Council in 1947.

Disillusioned with the SACP's apparently tame response to state repression and wanting to make up for years of neglect, La Guma spent most of the 1950s with his family. During these years of political isolation he was frustrated as he witnessed the inexorable advance of segregationist measures under apartheid laws. Indeed, he resigned his job as foreman at a Cape Town firm in protest at being demoted to make way for a white employee.

La Guma re-entered protest politics in 1957 when his son Alex (J.A. la Guma*) was arrested on a charge of high treason in December 1956 for his role in the Congress of the People. He was elected president of the South African Coloured People's Organization at its first national conference in 1957. With age and ill health catching up on him and his consequent irascibility not contributing to his popularity, La Guma decided once more to retire from active politics in 1959. He was nevertheless arrested with the declaration of a state of emergency that followed the Sharpeville shootings in 1960, and was detained for three months. La Guma's health failed rapidly after this. Suffering a cerebral thrombosis a few months after his release from prison, he died a few months later of a fatal heart attack at Groote Schuur Hospital.

In 1923 La Guma married a childhood sweetheart, Wilhelmina (Minnie) Alexander, the daughter of a carpenter who was active in the African Political Organization. In Minnie, La Guma found a lifelong companion who supported his political activities despite his frequent absences from home, the economic sacrifices and the personal risks involved. Of their marriage a son, Alexander, the celebrated novelist, and a daughter, Joan, were born.

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LA GUMA, Justin Alexander (Alex) (*Cape Town, 20 February 1925—



†Havana, Cuba, 11 October 1985), novelist, short story writer and political activist, was the son of James (Jimmy) la Guma*, a trade union organizer and prominent member of the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA, South African Communist Party (SACP) after 1953), and his wife Wilhelmina Alexander. La Guma grew up in the coloured quarter of District Six in Cape Town and attended high school before making what he recalled as a "romantic" gesture of working-class solidarity by joining the Metal Box Company as a factory hand. He was dismissed from this job for his role in organizing a strike. Subsequently he worked as a clerk and bookkeeper before joining the Cape Town leftist weekly *The Guardian* (superseded by *New Age*) as a reporter. He continued working as a journalist until his banning under the Suppression of Communism Act in 1962 made this impossible.

In 1948 La Guma followed his father's example by joining the CPSA that was outlawed two years later by the National Party government's Suppression of Communism Act. As a listed communist, La Guma was from that date an official enemy of the state. His active involvement in anti-apartheid politics nevertheless continued to grow. In 1954 he became a founder member and chairperson of the South African Coloured People's Organization (SACPO), later renamed the Coloured People's Congress and affiliated to the African National Congress (ANC). His attempt that same year to lead a SACPO delegation to the Kliptown Congress of the People (at which the ANC's Freedom Charter was adopted) was thwarted by the police when he and his colleagues were detained in Beaufort West. La Guma was subsequently one of the 156 accused in the Treason Trial of 1956-1960. After his acquittal he was on three occasions detained for suspected underground political activity, before being placed under house arrest in 1963. He and his family left South Africa on an exit permit in 1966. After working as an insurance clerk, journalist and radio scriptwriter in London, he was posted to Havana, Cuba, in 1978 as chief

representative of the ANC in the Caribbean, a position he occupied until his death.

La Guma started writing fiction in the mid-1950s while employed as a columnist and feature writer for *New Age*. A handful of short stories were followed by three novels written in South Africa: *A walk in the night* (1962), *And a threefold cord* (1964), and *The stone country* (1967). In exile he published a further two novels, *In the fog of the season's end* (1972), and *Time of the butcherbird* (1979), several short stories, a travelogue, *A Soviet journey* (1978), and a number of essays on South African politics and culture. Among the several literary awards he received were the literary prize of the Afro-Asian Writers' Association (1969), and the coveted French title of Chevalier des Arts et Lettres (1985).

La Guma's fiction related the suffering under oppression and the growth of revolutionary consciousness among the black, particularly coloured, South African community. Without an appropriate local literary tradition, he forged a terse, elegantly tough narrative style which was labelled 'journalistic' but which may have owed much more to late nineteenth-century Naturalism, mediated by American literary champions of the underdog like John Steinbeck and James T. Farrell. A loyal Stalinist, La Guma himself characterized his work as 'socialist realism', although 'revolutionary romanticism' (Gorky) was perhaps more apt, given La Guma's tendency to sentimentalize the political aspirations of his working-class characters.

La Guma's novels gave fictional form to a rigorous Marxist analysis of the South African social formation, anticipating much later resistance writing by emphasizing the category of class rather than race. In the early writings his characters, lacking the means of collective self-representation, were doomed, by the identity conferred on them by the social order, to be little more than links in a chain of cause and effect, their consciousness radically determined by the material forces of a coercive political system. In later works La Guma evoked the dawning and consolidation of political awareness among the oppressed, as passive resentment was gradually transformed into a resolute commitment to armed struggle.

Perhaps because La Guma was a more deliberate and accomplished craftsman than other black South African protest writers, his didacticism was generally unobtrusive. Critics used the metaphor of the camera to describe the detailed manner in which he evoked the textures of his presented worlds, but representation in La Guma was never purely documentary or objective. Moreover, the sentiment of moral disgust which informed the act of seeing seemed sometimes in its intensity to have reached beyond the abjection of a particular social order to embrace the human condition itself. In his later work, presumably as a result of his long exile, the focus of the observing eye was considerably less sharp.

La Guma's reputation outside South Africa was high, and yet his writings were banned and virtually unknown within South Africa until the late 1980s. New assessments of his achievement are awaited as his work—its function as political protest now receding into history—is assimilated into the South African literary and critical tradition.

La Guma married Blanche Herman in 1954. Two sons were born of the marriage.

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LATSKY, Louise (Lulu) (*Carnarvon, 22 October 1901—†Stellenbosch, 8 November 1980), author of children's books, zoologist and the first woman to be awarded a doctorate at the University of Stellenbosch. She was the eldest daughter of Rev. C.H.E. Latsky, a minister in the Dutch Reformed Mission Church, and his wife Johanna Maria Sterrenberg. She obtained the B.Sc. degree with distinction in 1927 and the M.Sc. in 1928. Latsky was then awarded the Webb Bursary which enabled her to continue with her doctorate in zoology which she obtained in 1930. She was one of two women at that time to serve on the students' council.



Latsky lectured in biology and zoology at the Potchefstroom University College (Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education) for a year—probably in 1931. However, poor health forced her to return to Stellenbosch where her father was a minister.

Over the following decades Latsky compiled lectures for a correspondence course, but mostly did research in zoology, bacteriology and medicine. Towards the end of 1934 she started publishing under different pen-names in various magazines, amongst others in *Die jongspan*, *Die huisgenoot*, *Die huisvrou* and *Brandwag*. She was also the editor of a nature study series, *Kennis vir almal*, consisting of 78 booklets, eleven of which she wrote herself.

Latsky also wrote fiction. A few adult works were published, of which *Die martelgang* and *Sterker as die dood* are examples. Some stories based on facts from Biblical history were intended for children and adults, but above all she became known as author of animal stories for children—published between the 1930s and 1950s. A collection of these stories was published in book form. She wrote a total of 47 children's books.

Latsky's most important aim with her stories was to convey to children natural and zoological facts in such a way that these could be assimilated effortlessly. Her popularity as a writer was proof that she succeeded.

Latsky was described as a humble person who had others' interests at heart. Despite being sickly and bedridden from her nineteenth year she never com-

plained. She became blind during the last years of her life.
She never married.

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LEKGANYANE, Engenas Barnabas (*Thabakgone, Mamabolo area, Pietersburg district, c.1885—†Moria, Pietersburg district, 31 May 1948), founder of the Zion Christian Church (ZCC), was one of the six children of Matseleng Barnabas Lekganyane and Sefora Raphela, daughter of Marobathota Raphela. He is sometimes also referred to as Enginasi or Ignatius.



He received primary education to Standard 3 at the Matlhantle School in the area of Chief Mamabolo in the Pietersburg district. After leaving school he stayed at home and kept himself busy by shooting doves which he often gave to his grandfather Raphela and to his uncle. He was a favourite among the old people who praised his good behaviour.

Engenas suffered from what seemed to be an incurable eye disease for many years until 1912 when he told his parents that he has had a vision and heard a voice telling him to leave for Johannesburg where he would find many churches. He should join the one which baptized by threefold immersion in water; this would cure his eyes.

In 1912 he was baptized by the brothers Elias and Joseph Mahlangu of the Zion Apostolic Church in South Africa (ZAC). As member of the ZAC he did mission work in the Mamabolo area, but could not baptize his converts because he had not yet been ordained. Baptism was performed by Rev. A. Mamabolo until the Mahlangu brothers ordained Engenas in 1918.

Engenas differed with his fellow ministers on the validity of certain practices in the church: the wearing of long white clothes, growing of beards by the men, and taking off shoes before entering the church. It was, however, alleged that the main reason for this difference was a struggle for power in the ZAC. Consequently the relationship between Engenas and the Mahlangu deteriorated. Engenas was demoted to a lower rank and finally broke away from the ZAC. He then joined the Zion Apostolic Faith Mission (ZAFM) of Edward Motaung who was stationed in Basutoland (Lesotho), and soon became leader of the ZAFM in the Transvaal.

By 1924 the schism between the leaders of the ZAFM and Engenas was clear. Not only had the ZAMF become too big to be controlled by Motaung from Basutoland, but the relationship between Engenas and Motaung suffered

when Engenas breached the constitution of the church by taking a second wife. These reasons were probably secondary to the leadership ambitions of the different regional bishops. Engenas felt the only option was to establish a new church. Probably with this in mind he went up to Mount Thabakgone in 1924 to pray. There, according to tradition, God instructed him to start a church.

Engenas thus ended his relationship with the ZAFM. The name for his new church had to be entirely new but the word 'Zion' had to be retained because Engenas believed that the word denoted the true and original church as found in the Old Testament. He eventually decided on the 'Zion Christian Church'.

He already had strong support among people who had been with him in the ZAFM. In 1925 a simple constitution, which was rarely used, was drawn up to accompany an application for state recognition. The constitution pointed out that the ZCC aimed at spreading the Word of God in the whole world. The aims and objectives appeared to be like any other established Christian church. In reality traditional practices and different ways of faith healing often became more important than spiritual salvation.

Engenas and his followers intended to settle at Thabakgone, his birth place, but because of a dispute with Chief Mamabolo they had to leave. The dispute was closely linked to a power struggle, with evidence clearly indicating that Engenas was vying for chieftainship. His followers were increasingly coming to him for counsel rather than going to Mamabolo. Eventually in 1939 Engenas and his people left. He bought a farm at Mphahlele in the Pietersburg district but because the climate was too hot for him he left. In the 1940s he bought two farms, McClean and Kleinfontein, near Boyne, and this became the headquarters of his church.

Engenas headed his church in the same way as a tribal chief. He appointed and ordained ministers who were responsible to him. He proclaimed new rituals, saw to it that they were followed and punished those who contravened the rituals. The members of the different councils of the church were appointed by him. Though they had specified duties and responsibilities, the final decision rested with Engenas. He was the head of the church, the chief prophet and the personality around which every activity of the church revolved.

He used to preach about Jesus Christ and to refer to the Bible, but the Bible was rarely used because many of his followers were illiterate. Faith and divine healing played a major role in the ZCC. For faith healing Engenas introduced sanctified papers, copper wires, water and strings that were used as protective and healing objects. The prerequisite for the use of any healing method was the confession of sins and faith in God. Baptism and Holy Communion were both observed as sacraments in the ZCC. Baptism was by threefold immersion in the river. It was, however, taken as a gateway into the ZCC and not symbolic of a rebirth into the Kingdom of God. Holy Communion was served at Moria and other central places.

By 1926 the ZCC had 926 members country-wide. In 1928 Engenas introduced the use of a badge for the purpose of identification. It also served as a token of faithfulness to the church and as a symbol of solidarity and oneness in the church. The badge itself served as protection against criminals in the urban areas and as a sign of trustworthiness. However, this led to misuse

and by 1935 nonmembers (even criminals) were using the badge to their own advantage. (The different emblems on the badge—the dove and the star—were only introduced later by his sons.) Engenas also insisted that members should carry their baptismal cards for purposes of identification.

Another unifying factor in the ZCC was polygamy which was seen as a God-created mode of life. ZCC adherents preferred polygamy to divorce and polygamists were offered ministerial positions.

Engenas bought several other plots and farms in the area where trading stores and other business enterprises were opened. At the time of his death Engenas as well as the ZCC were financially in a very good position.

From 1945 Engenas's health deteriorated, and he began to spend nearly all his time at home while his councillors fulfilled most of his duties. He only appeared in public during conferences. The crucial point for Engenas was the appointment of his successor, which the constitution stipulated was the responsibility of the 'conference' (ordained ministers and preachers). Since nobody consulted the constitution, the ZCC members believed that the appointment of a successor was Engenas's prerogative and that he would appoint his eldest son. Before his death he summoned his brothers, the elders and his advocate, P.W. Roos. He presented his fifth and favourite son Joseph to them as his successor and also as the future bishop. However, in May 1948 Engenas died without personally announcing his successor. He was laid to rest at his home in Moria on 1 June 1948, a date which has since been sanctified by the ZCC. He left a congregation of about 80 000 people. The fact that the new leader could not be announced before the one year mourning period had expired, caused much confusion and insecurity among the members. This delay and the death of the eldest son Barnabas in 1949 before the successor could be announced, probably contributed to the subsequent split in the church.

Engenas was an ambitious and charismatic leader who attracted many people to the church. He was successful in using Christianity to establish a supra-ethnic tribe of Zionists. Through Engenas underprivileged people were afforded a place to learn Western modes of living; for example, they were advised to bank their money, to wear Western clothes, and to replace traditional beer with coffee and tea.

In 1918 Engenas married Salphina Rabodiba. Five sons and one daughter were born of this marriage. They were considered the rightful heirs. Engenas, however, was a polygamist who had two more wives, but the children from these relationships were not recognized by the ZCC, nor regarded as future leaders. They were only members of the brass band. During the split in the church after Engenas's death, the second wife was expelled but the third managed to remain because she was a member of the Lekganyane family.



LEKGANYANE, Edward Engenas (*Thabakgone, Mamabolo area, Pietersburg district, c.1923—†Moria, Pietersburg district, 21 October

1967) (first known as Talane Reuben), leader of the Zion Christian Church (the Star) that gained substantial support in urban areas, and his younger brother, **LEKGANYANE, Joseph Engenas Matlhakanye** (*Thabakgone, Mamabolo area, Pietersburg district, 21 January 1931—†Warmberg, Pietersburg district, 11 November 1972), leader of the St Engenas Zion Christian Church (the Dove) that had support in the rural areas.

The brothers grew up on a family farm in Moria where they attended a private school, Edward up to Standard 5, and Joseph up to Standard 6. Through correspondence courses Edward obtained his Standard 6 certificate in 1959, and Joseph the Junior Certificate. As a young man Edward apparently clashed with his father and found a job in Natal. Joseph, however, became a personal driver to his father in 1946 and accompanied him to all official church gatherings and meetings. It was during this period that Joseph familiarized himself with the church administration.

Upon the death of Engenas, the struggle between Edward and Joseph for the church leadership led to a split in the ZCC. Edward had already gained much support in the urban areas of especially Johannesburg where ZCC followers considered him as the future leader of the ZCC. Furthermore, they supported the traditional appointment of the eldest son as successor—which, following Barnabas's death, was Edward. In this way, Edward became leader of the biggest group of his father's followers.

Edward laid out the Zion City Moria as headquarters of his church on the family farm and had the five-pointed Star of David with the letters ZCC affixed upon the original badge. From his headquarters he established congregations from Cape Town to Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and probably also visited countries like Bechuanaland (Botswana) and Tanganyika (Tanzania), having applied for a passport in 1958 and receiving it in 1959. In 1960 he visited Europe and North and South America.

Thousands of people gathered at Moria during the yearly Easter celebrations of the ZCC. Edward led the procession as leader of a brass band and his sermon on Easter Sunday was the highlight of the celebrations which also included faith healing. The people believed they experienced something of the New Jerusalem where the Messiah builds his kingdom. Moreover, in the presence of the prophet (Edward) they could experience power, protection and peace. The power and blessing of the prophet were conveyed to his followers.

Apart from church matters Edward was also involved in business enterprises and tribal politics at Moria. He purchased several properties and farms in the area. Through the mediation of S.S. Tema* he was allowed in 1963 to enrol for a three-year training course for evangelists at the Stofberg Theological School of the Dutch Reformed Church at Turfloop. He completed the course in 1966 and received a certificate. After the completion of his studies he attempted to renew the ZCC through a stronger Biblical approach but his untimely death thwarted the attempt.



Edward was described as fairly intelligent, diligent, agreeable and frank. He was a charismatic leader, a good organizer and he was idolized by his followers. Like his father he maintained a good relationship with the National Party government. The then Minister of Bantu Affairs, M.D.C. de W. Nel, was invited to Moria in 1965. On this occasion Edward declared that his church had no place for people who undermined the safety of South Africa. He also assured the government of his loyalty. Out of a small group of his father's followers he built up the biggest independent African church of its kind in South Africa. His followers honoured him as chief (king), prophet and even messiah and saviour. He himself preferred the title of 'bishop'. In 1954 he amended the constitution to make the bishopric the inheritance of the Lekganyane family.

In the rural areas Joseph was considered as the rightful heir since he had been appointed by his father. Following Engenas's instructions the ZCC elders of the church and Advocate P.W. Roos installed Joseph Lekganyane as the leader of the Zion Christian Church of Engenas on 15 September 1949. His following consisted of only about 6 000 members. He had inherited all the church property and, it was believed, his father's power of preaching and the gift of faith healing. Joseph steadily built up his section of the church and in 1965 decided to honour the founder of the church by adding his name to the name of the church. The church thus became known as the Saint Engenas Zion Christian Church (St Engenas ZCC) and a dove emblem was added to the original badge. Joseph also had a school office and a church building erected, hardly 2 km to the west of the City of Moria. Like the ZCC the followers of the St Engenas ZCC also gathered for Easter celebrations.

Joseph survived the smallpox epidemic without hospitalization but his face was much scarred. He was a soft-spoken person with a good sense of humour. Under his leadership St Engenas ZCC grew and prospered. Though his church remained smaller than that of his brother Edward, he left a membership of about one million people when he died.

Edward died suddenly of a heart attack at his home at Moria. His funeral was veiled in secrecy and was only attended by a small group of his followers. He was succeeded by his son Barnabas. Joseph also died at an early age, after having been seriously ill in 1967. He bestowed the leadership of the church upon his second son Engenas Joseph Lekganyane who became bishop in 1975.

Edward married Evelyn in 1950. Two daughters and a son (Barnabas) were born of the marriage. Since the ZCC recognized polygamy, Edward apparently had at least 23 other wives, some of them living in Soweto and Durban. Joseph married Mothlago Flora Molopa in 1960. They had two sons and two daughters.

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LEMBEDE, Anton (Anthony) Muziwakhe (*near Nkambathaweni, George-



dale district, Natal, January 1914—†Johannesburg, 30 July 1947), teacher, lawyer, politician and principal architect of African nationalism in South Africa. He was a son of Martin Mbazwana Lembede of the Chunu (Cunu) tribe, and his wife Martha Nora Luthuli, a teacher before her marriage. His parents worked as labourers for a white farmer. (Some sources refer to them as sharecroppers.) Although he apparently grew up in dire poverty, Lembede was proud of his heritage as a farm child. As he put it: "I am a peasant and I was born a peasant. I am one with the soil of Africa." His parents were members of the Roman Catholic Church and throughout his life Lembede remained a devoted Catholic.

When Lembede was still small his parents moved to what was then known as the Isabelo Native Reserve so that their children could attend a Catholic mission school. Lembede's mother gave him a basic education before he started his formal schooling. Lembede obtained a first-class pass in Standard 6, which won him a bursary to attend Adams College (Amanzimtoti Zulu Training College) in Amanzimtoti to train as a teacher. He studied there from 1933 and was an outstanding student who showed signs of a sharp intellect. In 1935 Lembede qualified as a teacher.

Lembede taught in Natal and the Orange Free State for six years. During

this time he devoted himself to learning various languages and could express himself in Zulu, Sotho, English, Afrikaans, German, Dutch and French. In between he studied privately until he passed matric in 1937 with a distinction in Latin. After that he enrolled with the University of South Africa for the B.A. degree. He obtained this in 1940, majoring in philosophy and Roman-Dutch law. In 1943 he also obtained the LL.B. degree from the same university.

In 1943 Lembede gave up teaching and settled in Johannesburg. He was accepted as an attorney's clerk at the firm of the veteran politician, Pixley Seme. In 1945 Lembede qualified as an attorney and became Seme's partner. In the same year he obtained the M.A. degree in philosophy from the University of South Africa on *The conception of God as expounded by, and as it emerges from the writings of philosophers from Descartes to the present day.*

When Lembede joined Seme's firm in 1943 he immediately became politically active and joined the African National Congress (ANC). His resumed friendship with Jordan Ngubane, a school friend from Adams College, and Ashley Mda, whom he first met in 1938, contributed to this. These three plus other young black Johannesburgers (among them Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo who became prominent figures) established the African National Congress Youth League (CYL) early in 1944. In September of that year Lembede was chosen as its first president. Also in 1944 he was elected as assistant secretary of the Transvaal provincial branch of the ANC and in 1946 became a member of its national executive committee.

Lembede became known as the architect of African nationalism or Africanism in South Africa. It is in this regard that he exercised his greatest and most enduring influence. His ideological thoughts represented a pioneering attempt to articulate orthodox black nationalism. It was anti-capitalist because it advocated a weakly defined socialism as the ideal economic system for Africa. It was also anti-Marxist because Lembede associated Marxism with the 'white' Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA, South African Communist Party (SACP) after 1953). African nationalism became the ideology on which later orthodox black nationalists such as the founders of the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) and the Black Consciousness Movement would continue to build for the following four decades.

Lembede's views regarding the concept of African nationalism to a large extent enlarged upon the standpoints which had been propagated by R.V.S. Thema* since the 1930s. Lembede, however, conferred on African nationalism a more philosophical and militant tendency, as well as a definite Pan-Africanist content which rendered all the black people of Africa as objects of nationalism. Lembede's love and idealism were coupled to a half mystical and somewhat nebulous Africa because, as he explained, "My soul yearns for the glory of an Africa that is gone, but I shall labour for the birth of a new Africa, free and great among the nations of the world".

Lembede was often described as a man with a strong and eccentric personality, stubborn, arrogant and aggressive, with a sense of humour that won friends among simple people, yet a pride in being black that could obscure for him the virtues of someone of another colour. His nationalist ideas, for

instance, led to his unrelenting hostility towards communists in the ANC who were articulate opponents of Africanism. In spite of his manners, he was popular, honest and able. He drove himself to extremes in his pursuit of education and professional achievement, neglecting his health.

He died from an undisclosed cause while he was preparing a doctoral thesis in law. His death could, however, have been linked to an intestinal malfunctioning for which he had to undergo a major operation. He was a teetotaler and unmarried.

After his death Lembede soon became a legendary figure among members of the CYL. They held Lembede memorial services annually and established a Lembede Scholarship Fund in his honour. By the mid-1950s Lembede's ideas had fallen out of favour in most of the CYL, but continued to form the basis of the ideology of the Africanist faction, which in 1958–1959 emerged as the PAC.

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LETANKA, Daniel Simon (*Saulspoor, Rustenburg district, 1874—†Johannesburg, 1934), interpreter, journalist and politician.



He was a Tswana by birth, and received his schooling amongst others at the Natives' College in Grahamstown in the Eastern Cape. As a talented musician, and in the hope of continuing his studies overseas, he returned to the Transvaal Republic and started a choir to hold concerts in the towns and settlements right across the Republic. The concerts were successful as performances but as a source of income this scheme failed.

In 1902 Letanka was appointed as an interpreter in the Supreme Court in Pretoria. He also served at courts in Blaauberg (or Blouberg, a settlement

near Pietersburg) and Warmbaths. He resigned, however, in 1909 to join the newspaper business. In 1910 he started the weekly paper *Motsoalle* (The Friend) superseded by *Moromioa* (Messenger) in 1911. (It could not be established if a connection existed between this newspaper and the one with which Henry Msimang* was involved in c.1917, i.e. *Morumioa*.) Letanka was the sole editor and publisher of this newspaper. At the request of Pixley Seme and with the financial backing of the Swazi Queen Regent, the newspaper amalgamated with the recently established *Abantu Batho* in 1912. Letanka became a director of the company which published *Abantu Batho*, as well as one of the four editors of the newspaper, and remained so until his death.

In 1912 Letanka was a founder member of the South African Native National Congress (SANNC, African National Congress (ANC) after 1923). From 1916 he was vice-president of the Transvaal provincial branch of the SANNC for several years. Like most of the early leaders of the SANNC he was a moderate. He was a member of the committee which drafted the 1919 constitution of the SANNC. Letanka was regarded as a man of great integrity and diligence and was especially successful in obtaining contributions from the tribal captains, which were necessary to finance the SANNC's deputations and court cases.

Directly after the founding of the SANNC Letanka was deeply involved in the protest against the bill that would affect African farming to such an extent that the African peasantry would be drawn into the labour force. After parliament had passed the Natives Land Act in 1913, the SANNC decided to take their grievance directly to the British king and public. An emergency committee of which Letanka was a member was chosen to collect funds to carry out this decision. Letanka was nonetheless not a member of the delegation which eventually went to Britain in 1914. However, immediately after the outbreak of the First World War (1914–1918) he was a member of the SANNC delegation to Pretoria which went to assure the government of SANNC support for the government's war effort.

In 1917 a dispute which threatened to leave the SANNC without leadership emerged between Seme and John Dube*. Letanka played a prominent role in choosing a new executive committee for the SANNC. A year later during the so-called Bucket Strike by the Johannesburg African sanitary workers he took the initiative to secure SANNC aid for the workers. Letanka and T.L. Mvabaza* were two of the five SANNC members arrested and charged with incitement. In their defence it was stated that they were in fact a moderating influence during the strike; the state dropped the case.

By 1919 Letanka was manager of the African Club in Johannesburg. During the same year he was involved with the demonstrations that the SANNC had organized against the pass laws. Two years later he was again in the news. As a result of legislation passed by parliament in 1921, the provinces were prohibited, amongst others, from placing a direct tax on African people. The Transvaal government nevertheless imposed a personal tax of 50 shillings a year on each adult African man (Transvaal Poll Tax Ordinance of 1921). Letanka appealed against this on behalf of the Transvaal Native Congress and his appeal was upheld by the Supreme Court in 1922.

In 1924 Letanka was appointed as Minister of Chiefs or secretary of the Council of Chiefs (or Upper House) of the ANC. It was especially through his assistance that three conferences of tribal chiefs were held during 1927 and 1929 under the auspices of the ANC. In 1927, during the ANC's annual national conference, he was chosen as a member of the national executive committee. After Seme had been elected president-general of the ANC in 1930, Letanka was re-elected secretary of the Upper House.

At the end of his life Letanka was poverty-stricken, for he had to support himself and his wife, by whom he was survived, on his meagre salary from *Abantu Batho*.

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LETELE, Arthur Elias (*Maseru, Basutoland (Lesotho), 2 October 1916—



†Maseru, 20 December 1965), a medical doctor and politician, was a son of Elias Letele, an inspector of schools, and his wife Catherine who was Xhosa by birth. As a child he emigrated to South Africa and grew up in Ladybrand in the Orange Free State. In 1930 he went to Lovedale Institution at Alice in the Eastern Cape for his secondary schooling. From there he went to the South African Native College (University of Fort Hare) and then to the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, where he qualified as a medical doctor in 1946. The next year he became a general practitioner in Lovedale, but in 1948 he moved to Kimberley.

Letele's political involvement started in 1944 when he joined the recently established African National Congress Youth League (CYL). Shortly after he had settled in Kimberley, he joined the local branch of the African National Congress (ANC) and was elected as treasurer. Until 1951, however, he did not play a role in the country-wide political actions and rather concentrated on the local political scene.

In September 1952 Letele became involved in the ANC's Defiance Campaign when he persuaded a number of volunteers to join him in contravening discriminatory laws. They were taken into custody and summoned to court where Letele was sentenced to a £3 fine or ten days' imprisonment. He refused to pay the fine and went to goal—the first of four terms of imprisonment that

he served. In October 1952 when violence erupted in Kimberley Letele, after he had attended to many of the injured, was again taken into custody on a charge of inciting violence. He was found guilty and sentenced to nine months' imprisonment, suspended for two years. In accordance with his bail conditions he was also prohibited from leaving Kimberley until August 1953.

From the end of 1953, when Letele was elected to the ANC national executive committee at the ANC annual congress, he was intensely involved with national political issues. He was in favour of a democracy based on the American model, but was not hostile to communism. In 1955 during the Congress of the People campaign, he collected the demands of Kimberley's African population for incorporation in the Freedom Charter. He attended the congress which was held in June 1955 at Kliptown near Johannesburg, and proposed the second clause of the charter, namely that all men should be equal before the law.

Letele was elected as treasurer-general during the ANC annual congress at the end of 1955. A year later he became one of the 156 accused in the Treason Trial which lasted from 1956 to 1961. The charges against him were later withdrawn and he was discharged by the court.

During the crisis which followed the Sharpeville shootings in March 1960, Letele burnt his pass publicly in Orlando outside Johannesburg. After that he went to Kimberley but was taken into custody after the announcement of the state of emergency. He was held at various places, including Bloemfontein and Kimberley, and was only released on 19 July 1960. He was, however, still subjected to certain restrictions such as the prohibition on taking part in or associating with any organization or attending any meeting or gathering without the permission of the magistrate of Kimberley. Perhaps the most important condition on which he was released, was that he had to leave South Africa within 30 days.

Letele thus went into exile in Basutoland in 1961, but was periodically allowed to visit Kimberley to attend to business matters. He settled in Maseru where he started a medical practice, but remained an ANC leader. On only one occasion did he interfere in the politics of the land of his birth. On the eve of South Africa's becoming a republic in 1961, he and other ANC leaders tried to take over the leadership of the Basutoland Congress Party in order to support the ANC's resistance to this step.

Occasionally Letele represented the ANC abroad—at the time he had a British passport. In March 1961 he attended the third All-African People's Conference in Cairo, Egypt. From there he travelled to Britain and Sweden, amongst others. During 1961 he also visited Nigeria and Tanzania and in 1963 visited Britain, as well as the Soviet Union where he was a guest of the Afro-Asiatic Solidarity Committee.

On 12 July 1948 Letele married Mary-Anne Nombulelo Grace Nkolombe in Cape Town. She was a Xhosa by birth, some six years his junior. Four sons and one daughter were born of the marriage. When Letele went into exile, his wife and children soon joined him.

Library of the University of South Africa, Pretoria: South African Political Materials:

Carter-Karis microfilm; — C.M. DE VILLIERS, *Die African National Congress en sy aktiwiteite aan die Witwatersrand, 1912-1956*. M.A. thesis. University of Pretoria, 1965; — Obituary: *Post*, 26 December 1965; — T. KARIS & G.M. CARTER (eds), *From protest to challenge: a documentary history of African politics in South Africa, 1882-1964*. 3. *Challenge and violence, 1953-1964*. Stanford, 1977; — T. KARIS & G.M. CARTER (eds), *From protest to challenge: a documentary history of African politics in South Africa, 1882-1964*. 4. *Political profiles, 1882-1964*. Stanford, 1977; — M. BENSON, *South Africa: the struggle for a birthright*. London, 1985; — Private information: Ms P.N. Letele (daughter), Maseru, Lesotho.

LETTY, Cythna Lindenberg (*Standerton, 1 January 1895—†Pretoria, 3 May

1985), botanical artist, was the eldest of the five children of Walter Edward Letty of Greenwich, England, and the widow Josina Christina Lindenberg of Worcester, Cape Province. The latter also had six children from her earlier marriage to David Johannes de Vaal Leibbrandt.



In 1899 the family moved to Estcourt, Natal, where Letty attended the first of thirteen schools, and in 1904 they moved back to Standerton. During her second stay in Standerton her mother, an able and talented woman, gave Letty her first lessons in painting veld flowers in watercolour. Apart from her mother's guidance she received no formal art

training.

At the outbreak of the First World War (1914-1918), Letty's father enlisted. He never returned to South Africa after 1918, but remained in France where he died. When he left, Josina Letty moved with her children to Pretoria. Letty thus spent her last year of schooling at the Girls' High School in Pretoria in 1914, after which she worked for a short time as governess on a farm northeast of Pretoria. She then trained as a nurse for a year before moving to Cape Town where from 1920 to 1924 she assisted her brother-in-law who was a medical doctor.

Returning to Pretoria in 1925, Letty received her first appointment in which she could exercise her artistic talent—at the Onderstepoort Veterinary Laboratories. This was before the time of colour photography and her function was to record, in accurate detail, the *post mortem* appearance of various animal diseases and abnormalities. In 1927 she was transferred to the then Division of Plant Industry in the Department of Agriculture. She worked under Dr I.B. Pole Evans* in the National Herbarium, where she started to create her superb paintings of African plants that, for many years, were the mainstay of the journal *Flowering plants of Africa*.

Letty resigned in 1938 to marry Oscar William Alric Forssman*. In 1945 she returned to her post in the National Herbarium and continued working until her final retirement in 1968. During her service she completed over 740 plates for *Flowering plants of Africa*, as well as many illustrations in colour and in black and white for other publications of the Botanical Research Institute. One

of her great ambitions was realized when her book *Wild flowers of the Transvaal* appeared in 1962. It contained 145 colour plates and the text was written partly by herself but largely by other staff members of the Botanical Research Institute. The translation by Anna Rothmann, *Veldblomme van Transvaal*, was the first major illustrated botanical work in Afrikaans.

Letty was widely regarded as the leading botanical artist in South Africa. When South Africa changed to the decimal system on 14 February 1961, three of her designs were accepted for the new series of coins: the 50c (*Strelitzia*, *Zantedeschia* and *Agapanthus*, representing the orange, white and blue of the national flag), the 20c (*Protea cynaroides* and *Protea repens*), and the 10c (*Aloe aculeata*). She also drew the design of *Gloriosa virescens* for the then Rhodesian (Zimbabwe) sixpence.

In 1966 some of Letty's paintings were included in an international exhibition of botanical art held at the Hunt Botanical Institute, Pittsburgh, United States of America, and in 1970 she received the Grenfell Silver Medal from the Royal Horticultural Society for an exhibit in London, England, of her paintings of the Transvaal wild flowers. In 1974 the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, bestowed on her an honorary LL.D. degree in appreciation of the scientific advancement brought about by her craftsmanship and the joy it gave to many. In the same year the Johannesburg newspaper *The Star* named her 'Woman of the Year'. She was made a Fellow of the American Cactus Society in 1978, and in 1981 the South African Association of Botanists awarded her their Certificate of Merit.

For many years Letty had been interested in the classification of the South African *Zantedeschia* species (arum lilies) and in 1973 she published an authoritative treatise on the species in *Bothalia*, copiously illustrated with her own inimitable paintings. This was followed by two small books illustrated with line drawings: *Trees of South Africa* (1975) and *More trees of South Africa* (1976). In her eighty-sixth year she published 23 paintings of what she called "strange little flowers", together with a selection of poems which she had jotted down over the years, under the title *Children of the hours* (1981). She stated that she could only put part of her love for flowers in her drawings and regarded poetry as an extension of her paintings.

One son was born from Letty's marriage to Forssman which was dissolved in 1945.

Letty is commemorated in the botanical names *Aloe lettyae* Reynolds and *Crassula lettyae* Phillips, while the Cythna Letty Nature Reserve in the mountains above Barberton was named in her honour by the Transvaal Provincial Administration.

South African woman's who's who. Johannesburg, 1940; — C. LETTY, The flowers on the decimal coins. Editor's note. *Bothalia*, 8, May 1966, Supplement no. 1; — R. STEAD, Die kuns van Cythna Letty. *Lantern*, 18(1), September 1968; — M. MENDELSON, She's known around the world because of her love for flowers. *The Star*, 8 January, 1971; — A. SICHEL, Flowers were her childhood playmates. A profile of Cythna Letty, South Africa's foremost botanical artist. *Pretoria News*, 10 August 1973; — Cythna Letty Forssman: the flowers that bloom in the veld. *The Star*, 4 November 1974; — Doctorate for the Lady of flowers who didn't get matric. *The Daily News*, 3 December 1974; — C.C.G. VAN DER WALT, Cythna

Letty. *Fauna & flora*, 28, January 1977; — L. DELLATOLA, The three races. *South African panorama*, September 1978; — Cythna Letty. *South African panorama*, April 1979; — Incredible Cythna and her 'strange little flowers'. *Pretoria News*, 1 August 1979; — A. CHITTENDEN, Ontmoet Cythna Letty, botaniese illustreerder en ons kleurrykste veldblommens. *Landbouweekblad*, 26 Oktober 1979; — N. PILLMAN, Dr Cythna Letty. In: A. PIETERSE (red.), *Vrou in haar eie wêreld: 'n hand vol gruis*. Pretoria, 1980; — M. GUNN & C.E. CODD, *Botanical exploration of Southern Africa*. Cape Town, 1981; — M. FAIRALL, Cythna Letty is 86 years young. *Sunday Tribune*, 29 November 1981; — Die vrou met die handvol drome. *Rooi rose*, 7 April 1982; D. DE BEER, Dr Cythna Letty: her 'exodus' a loss for city. *Pretoria News*, 3 April 1984; — Obituaries: *The Sunday Times*, 5 May 1985; *Pretoria News*, 7 May 1985; *Forum botanicum*, 23(7&8), August 1985; *Veld & flora*, September 1985; *Aloe*, 2, 1985; *Cactus & succulent journal* (US), 57, 1985; *Bothalia*, 16(1), May 1986; — HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE ADMINISTRATION, *A selection of flower paintings from the journals of Josina Christina Letty*. Pretoria, 1986.

LONG, Samuel Alfred (Taffy) (*Abertillery, Monmouthshire, Wales, Britain, 1891—†Pretoria, 17 November 1922), soldier, miner and trade unionist, executed for committing murder during the 1922 miners' strike.



Little is known of Long's early life, other than that he ran away from home when he was ten years old and went coal mining in the forest of Dean, Wales. At the age of nineteen, Long joined the Royal Horse Artillery and Royal Field Artillery and left England. At the outbreak of the First World War (1914–1918), he was in India with the 29th Division which moved to the Dardanelles on active service. He was transferred to the Arabian desert and then to France in March 1916. Long was seriously wounded in November 1917 in Cambrai in France, and spent 1918 recuperating in hospital in England. Because of his injuries he was discharged from the army on 13 September 1918 and was granted a military pension. Long had a good war record, held the rank of bombardier and was awarded the Mons Star.

After travelling to Australia in 1919, Long came to South Africa in February 1920. He applied to join the Mounted Police in Pretoria, but was turned down because he could not speak Dutch. He was subsequently employed by Crown Mines on Number 5 shaft as a timberman and occasionally as a machine operator. Apart from being a paid-up member of the South African Mine Workers' Union and attending the mine soccer club on an informal basis, Long did not appear to play a leading role at work or in his social circle.

At the outbreak of the 1922 Rand strike Long was on leave, and did not return to work. As a resident of Fordsburg and a trade union member he was entitled to draw rations at Market Hall, the headquarters of the Mine Workers' Union. Long admitted to marching with the commandos before martial law was declared on 10 March 1922, but claimed that he never joined them. He volunteered to combat looting, and sjamboked nine individuals who were allegedly

guilty.

On 15 March 1922, after the defeat of Fordsburg, Long was arrested for the murder of Alwyn Petrus Marais, a Fordsburg shopkeeper. Marais had been found guilty by the Strike Committee of being a police informant and was sentenced to death. He was taken by a party of three to a back street and shot on 11 March. He died in the Johannesburg hospital the next day. Long was later also charged with high treason and the possession of loot.

A Special Criminal Court was formed for the trial of those charged during the 1922 revolt. The Transvaal Strike Legal Defence Committee was formed by the trade unions to provide free legal defence for the accused. Long's case was the only one to undergo two trials—each of which was also the longest of all the hearings—and to serve before the Appeal Court in Bloemfontein.

During the first trial the defence disproved or discredited much of the evidence, and also gave testimony which implicated Percy Fisher* in the murder. After eight days of cross-examination, the three trial judges failed to come to a unanimous decision and declared that they had no option but to return no verdict. They stated that the case rested with the Crown. Another Special Criminal Court with three other judges was constituted for the specific purpose of trying Long.

The second trial, which lasted from 4 to 20 October, began with the defence contesting the jurisdiction of the second court. This objection was eventually overruled by the Appeal Court in Bloemfontein on 6 November. On virtually the same evidence, the three new judges found Long guilty of murder and sentenced him to death.

There was widespread public reaction to this verdict, particularly among members of the Labour Party and National Party, who claimed that this was yet another example of the Smuts-Hoggenheimer alliance against the worker. Subsequent mass protest and political meetings demanded a reprieve, while the Transvaal Strike Legal Defence Committee resolved that Long was innocent and declared that trial without a jury was a gross violation of the constitutional rights of all British subjects.

On 17 November 1922, Long was hanged at the Central Prison in Pretoria, together with Herbert Hull and David Lewis, both strikers, who had been sentenced for the murder of Lt Rupert William Taylor. When they were brought from their cell, the three men sang the 'Red Flag'—the official anthem of early socialists and communists in South Africa. Their remains were handed to their relatives to be buried under the auspices of the Industrial Federation.

The funeral of Long, Hull and Lewis on 19 November at Brixton Cemetery in Johannesburg was attended by over 10 000 people. On the call of the National Executive of Trade Unions, they marched under the banners of the South African Mine Workers' Union and the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA, South African Communist Party (SACP) after 1953), and the ceremony commenced and concluded with the singing of the 'Red Flag'. Though Anglican, the church refused to bury Long and so the rites were read by a minister of the Methodist Church. Messrs H.W. Sampson* and J. Cowan, secretary of the Mine Workers' Union, addressed the crowd. They averred that their deceased comrades had left a charge to those assembled to champion the workers'

cause. Subsequent labour histories heralded Long as one of South Africa's greatest working-class martyrs.

Long was survived by his eighteen-year-old wife, Maria Elizabeth (Ria) (born Hammergren), whom he had married on 30 July 1921, and their infant son, Samuel Thomas.

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MABHIDA, Moses Mbheki Mncane (Baba) (*Thornhill, Pietermaritzburg district, 14 October 1923—†Maputo, Mozambique, 8 March 1986), trade unionist and political leader. He was one of the seven children of Stimela Mabhida and Anna Nobuzi (nee Phakathi). Mabhida's father was a farm worker and later a labourer at the Electricity Department of the Pietermaritzburg Municipality. As member of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU) Mabhida's father had a marked influence on his son's political outlook. (Some sources give Mabhida's date of death as 29 March 1986.)



Mabhida started school in 1932 but his studies were constantly interrupted by periods during which he had to work as a herder. However, in 1933 he completed Standard 4 at a school in New England, near Pietermaritzburg. He then enrolled at the Buchanan Street Intermediate School which subsequently amalgamated with another school at Slangspruit, near Pietermaritzburg.

While at Slangspruit Mabhida met Harry Gwala (later to become a member of the 1991 national executive of the African National Congress (ANC)) who had a profound influence on him. Gwala introduced him to the ANC, the Independent Trade Union Movement (organizations Mabhida subsequently joined) and the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA, South African Communist Party (SACP) after 1953). Through Gwala Mabhida met trade unionists and became involved in the organization of a trade union in the distributive industry. Gwala also established classes for senior boys at Slangspruit where political issues—capitalism, private enterprise, socialism and public control of production and distribution—were discussed. It was also Gwala who introduced him to *The Guardian*—a newspaper sympathetic to the CPSA and published from 1937.

Mabhida's schooling did not go beyond Standard 7. He went to work as a waiter, then a railway worker and later as a shop worker. He joined the CPSA in December 1942 and started to play an active role in the ANC. In 1952 he was appointed assistant secretary of the Pietermaritzburg branch of the ANC.

Throughout the 1940s and 1950s Mabhida's main concern was to organize the workers. After the Defiance Campaign in 1952, he was asked by the then

clandestine SACP to work as a full-time trade unionist. He organized the Howick Rubber Workers' Union and the Chemical Workers in Pietermaritzburg. Moving to Durban in 1954 he was instrumental in establishing unions for dairy workers, bakery workers, laundry men and workers in the transport sector. He was involved in the strikes by Durban stevedores which led to the introduction of weekly pay and a minimum wage.

Mabhida played a major role in the preparation for the Congress of the People in 1955 where the Freedom Charter was adopted. During the same year the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) was established with Mabhida as one of its vice-presidents. In his inauguration speech he verbalized his lifelong ambition: "... [The] trade union movement can go forward only on the basis of unity and in a spirit of fraternity and solidarity among all workers". As chairperson of the local committee of SACTU, he built up the organization of the trade union movement in Natal. During this same period he became chairperson of the ANC working committee in Natal and chairperson of the Durban District Committee of the SACP. In this period of intense trade union and political activities, Mabhida was actively and militantly involved in every campaign.

In February 1960, following a strike at the Hammarsdale clothing factory in Natal, a warrant was issued for Mabhida's arrest. He was charged with incitement. After the Sharpeville shootings in March 1960, Mabhida participated in the anti-pass campaign and burnt his own pass book. Following the declaration of the state of emergency, Mabhida was instructed by SACTU to leave South Africa to present SACTU's case to the International Labour Organization (ILO) and to organize overseas support. On 16 April he escaped to Basutoland (Lesotho) never to return to South Africa. Apart from the ILO Mabhida also became actively involved in the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU).

In 1962 Mabhida's career turned from being essentially labour related and became politically inclined. After being re-elected to the ANC's national executive following the conference in Lobatse, Bechuanaland (Botswana) in October 1962, he was requested by Oliver Tambo (the ANC president) to devote himself to Umkhonto we Sizwe (the military wing of the ANC) as commander and commissar. After the Morogoro conference in Tanzania in 1969, he was to serve on the ANC's Revolutionary Council. In 1979 he was elected as general secretary of the SACP (following the death of Moses Kotane*) and installed in that post in 1981.

During his 26 years in exile Mabhida travelled extensively. He visited Lusaka, Luanda, Casablanca, Dar es Salaam, Havana, Moscow, Managua, London, Djakarta, Beijing, Rio de Janeiro, Prague and Washington. He was held in high esteem internationally, especially among trade unionists and socialists. On his sixtieth birthday he was awarded the Soviet Order of the People and the Order of the People's Republic of Bulgaria First Class.

Generally a self-educated man, Mabhida was steeped in the Marxist-Leninist ideology and tradition. He had the ability to translate difficult thoughts into digestible terms. His oration tended to be flowery, sometimes couched in religious terms: "The African is crucified on the cross of gold in the Transvaal

and on the mealie stalk in the Orange Free State". To a large extent Mabhida represented the unifying factor among the South African resistance movements. Amid the sometimes petty infights he was the prime example of the otherwise close alliance between SACTU, the SACP and the ANC.

Mabhida was married to Linah. The couple had three children. He died of a heart attack. He was given a state funeral and was buried in the Hlanguena Cemetery, Maputo, Mozambique.

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MADIBA, Moses Josiah (*Uitvlucht, Pietersburg district, 19 November



1909—†Seshego, Pietersburg district, 2 January 1985), educationist, first African chancellor of the University of the North, and author. He was one of the seven children of Jesaya Sekgoadi and Johanna Sebolaishi. Although Ndebele-speaking, Madiba preferred Northern Sotho as a communication medium. He received his primary education in the Pietersburg district at Ga-Madiba, Mashashane Lutheran School and Setotolwane. From 1926 to 1929 he studied for a teacher's diploma at Kilnerton Institution, a Methodist college in Pretoria. Through private and full-time study he later improved his qualifications: Junior Certificate (1930), matric (1933),

the B.A. degree (1941) with a Transvaal Education Department bursary, and the U.E.D. (1942)—the latter two qualifications from the South African Native College (University of Fort Hare).

Madiba's teaching career started in July 1929 when he was appointed principal at the Makapanspoort primary school in the Potgietersrus district. From April 1930 to June 1935 he was principal at the Kalkspruit Amalgamated School. This post he held until he became principal of the Kratzenstein Higher Primary School at Pietersburg for a year. In July 1936 he was appointed as supervisor of schools in the Pietersburg West Circuit, the highest post an African teacher could aspire to at that time. After a year he became principal of the Potgietersrus Bantu Secondary School.

With the founding of the Pretoria Bantu Normal College in Atteridgeville, a postmatriculation teacher training college, Madiba became lecturer and warden in 1947. While warden, he introduced hostel committees consisting of senior male and female students in order to teach and promote group discipline

and a sense of responsibility among students. In 1948 Madiba returned to Potgietersrus as founder principal and superintendent of Mokopane Teachers' Training Institution (Mokopane College of Education), a state-owned college that incorporated the Potgietersrus Bantu Secondary School. In 1957 Madiba was one of the first Africans to be appointed as a sub-inspector of Bantu Education. Two years later he was seconded back to Mokopane in order to reorganize the college. In 1961 he returned to his position as sub-inspector and in 1965 became Bantu Inspector of Schools. When the Department of Education and Culture of the Lebowa Government Service came into being in 1969 he was appointed as its first education planner.

Madiba was a protagonist of mother tongue instruction and of the mother tongue as medium of instruction in the primary school. Furthermore, he propagated the training of primary school teachers in the mother tongue as this would result in better training. This viewpoint led to severe criticism and political controversy, yet in pursuance of his conviction and his commitment to mother tongue instruction he developed the Northern Sotho language terminology that led the Department of Bantu Education language committees to compile Sotho terminologies in other subjects as well. He was also the author of several school textbooks, stories and novels in Northern Sotho. His books *Thuto ya Polelo* (1941), *Tsiri* (1942), *Mahlontebe series* (1952) and *Nkotsana* (1955) are still widely read in Northern Sotho schools.

Madiba was the first secretary of the Maune branch of the Transvaal African Teachers' Association (TATA) in 1930. He was also secretary of the Northern Transvaal Teachers' District Association of TATA, and served in several committees of this organization. In 1954 he was co-founder of the Transvaal Teachers' Union (TTU) and became its educational advisor. He represented the TTU on the Advisory Board for Native Education in the Transvaal. In 1960 he was appointed first chairperson of the advisory council of the newly established University College of the North, a position he held until 1973. He served as chairperson of the university's education committee as well, and on 13 May 1978 was installed as the first African chancellor of the University of the North.

Madiba was a recipient of the British Council Visitor's Grant. This enabled him to study primary and secondary teacher training in Britain, as well as the teaching of English to foreign students in 1964. He was a member of the government commission to Malawi, studying the youth in that country. In 1973 he received an honorary D.Ed. from the Faculty of Education at the University of South Africa for meritorious services as linguist, author, educationist and community leader.

Besides his numerous commitments in the field of education Madiba made room for community service. He was a lay preacher and elder in the Lutheran Church and president of the Evangelical Lutheran Church Synod, Transvaal. He was chairperson of the constitutional committee when the Northern and Southern Transvaal synods merged, and served from 1963 as first president of the new synod.

He was also deputy chairperson of the Lebowa Legislative Assembly. In Mashashane a junior secondary school bears his name and at the University of

the North a dining hall and student residence are also named after him.

He married Johanna Margaret Ledwaba in 1936. The couple had two sons and five daughters. He died in his home after a short illness.

Bantu education who's who: a Bantu educationist. *Bantu education journal*, 2(4), May 1956; — *Honoris causa*: M.J. Madiba, Unisa, 1973; — Editorial: Dr M.J. Madiba. *Bantu education journal*, 19, October 1973; — Citation at the installation of Moses Josiah Madiba as chancellor of the University of the North, 13 May 1978; — Obituaries: *The Argus*, 4 January 1985; *The Citizen*, 4 January 1985; *The Star*, 4 January 1985; *The Friend*, 4 January 1985; *The Review*, 11 January 1985; *Educamus*, 31(4), April 1985; — S. MANAKA, A tribute: Dr M.J. Madiba. *Uninews*, 10(1), April 1985.

MADIBANE, Harry Percival (*Blaauwberg (Blouberg), Pietersburg district, 1902—†Pietersburg, 26 February 1981), educationist, school principal and soccer administrator, was the son of Theophilus Madibane and his wife Dora. Madibane grew up at Bochum (a settlement northwest of Pietersburg, and some 10 km south of Blouberg). After primary education at Bochum he went to the Diocesan Training Institute (Setotolwane College of Education) near Pietersburg where he obtained a teaching diploma in the early 1920s. While teaching he continued his studies and matriculated.

Madibane later came to Johannesburg and became the first principal of St Peter's School at Crown Mines. His next position was that of principal of St Cyprian's Anglican School in Sophiatown. Through the intervention of Peter Raynes, priest-in-charge at St Cyprian's, Madibane and G. Nakene* were allowed to enrol as students at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. In 1941 he completed the B.A. degree, and with Nakene became the first two Africans to receive the B.A. degree from this university.

In 1936 W.W.M. Eiselen* was appointed chief inspector of Native Education in the Transvaal. He initiated the establishment of day secondary schools (i.e. nonresidential secondary schools) for African pupils in the Transvaal as an experiment. Two such schools were established in Johannesburg. One was the Orlando High School where G. Nakene was principal in 1939. The other school was built in Western Native Township, and was called the Johannesburg Bantu High School (sometimes called Western High). Madibane was appointed as its first principal in 1942 and held this position until 1963.

In June 1963 the school was moved to Diepkloof as a result of the government's forced removals. Madibane retired at the end of that year. In Diepkloof the school was renamed Madibane High School, a fitting tribute to a man who dedicated his whole life to education.

Madibane was a strict disciplinarian according to those who knew him. Among his former students were many who became prominent in various fields, such as Archbishop Desmond Tutu; T.W. Khabule, a principal of

Orlando High School and of Pace Commercial College in Soweto; Dr G.G. Mberé, a gynaecologist; Prof. Alosi J.M. Moloi of the Department of African Languages and Literature at the University of California in Los Angeles in the United States of America; and Prof. P.C. Mokgokong, a former rector of the University of the North.

Madibane took a keen interest in sports of all kinds, especially soccer. He was president of the Johannesburg Bantu Football Association for twelve years; vice-president of the Transvaal Football Association; and vice-president of the South African Bantu Football Association. Madibane was also a leading member of church organizations in Sophiatown, and later in Diepkloof.

Madibane was married to Rita Rebecca Phahlane. They had two sons and two daughters. He was buried on his farm in Bochum in the Northern Transvaal on Saturday 7 March 1981.

T.D.M. SKOTA (ed.), *The African who's who: an illustrated classified register and national biographical dictionary of the Africans in the Transvaal*. 3rd ed., rev. & enl. (Johannesburg, 1965); — Obituary: *The Rand Daily Mail*, 28 February 1981; — Private information: R. Madibane (son), Diepkloof, Soweto, Johannesburg; Dr P.R.S. Maphike, (ex-pupil, Johannesburg Bantu High School), Soweto, Johannesburg; W.M. Ribane (ex-pupil, Johannesburg Bantu High School), Diepkloof Extension, Soweto, Johannesburg; Canon J.B. Moloi (ex-pupil, Johannesburg Bantu High School), Diepkloof, Soweto, Johannesburg.

MAHABANE, Zaccheus Richard (*Thaba Nchu, Orange Free State, 15 August 1881—†Kroonstad, September 1971), a clergyman, teacher, interpreter, politician and president of the African National Congress (ANC). His parents were Christians and prosperous farmers. After his primary school education in Thaba Nchu he was sent to the Morija Mission Institute in Basutoland (Lesotho) where he qualified as a teacher in 1901. He soon gave up teaching and became a court interpreter. In 1908 he began theological training at the Lessyton Theological School near Queenstown. He was ordained as a Methodist minister in 1914.

Mahabane's first congregation was at Bensonvale near Herschel. From there he was transferred to Cape Town where he quickly became politically active. In 1919 he was elected as president of the Cape provincial branch of the South African Native National Council (SANNC, African National Congress (ANC) after 1923). He also became vice-president of the Cape Native Voters' Convention. His first term as president-general of the ANC (1924–1927) was a quiet period in the history of the organization.

Mahabane increasingly tried to attain black unity. With the coloured leader A. Abdurahman* he organized the so-called Non-European Unity Conferences between 1927 and 1934 where Africans, coloureds and Indians discussed their common grievances and ideals.

By the end of the 1920s Mahabane was anxious about the growing black



following of the communist ideology and the pro-communist tendencies of his successor as ANC president-general, J.T. Gumede*. From 1929 to 1930 he was therefore instrumental in ousting Gumede from his leadership position. Simultaneously Mahabane was closely involved with black resistance to the so-called J.B.M. Hertzog* Draft Bills that, amongst others, were considering the removal of the Cape black voters from the common voters' roll. In order to oppose Hertzog's legislation, the All-African Convention (AAC) was formed in 1935, with Mahabane becoming one of the AAC leaders. At its first meeting in December 1935 he was elected to its executive committee and was part of the delegation that conveyed the AAC's grievances and proposals to Hertzog in Cape Town. The resistance was in vain but the AAC continued to exist and Mahabane served as vice-president until 1955.

Mahabane's second term as president-general of the ANC lasted from 1937 until 1940. He was still involved with the ANC after that and as senior chaplain was a member of the committee that had to investigate the revision of the ANC's constitution. In 1943 he was made lifelong honorary president. During the 1940s he became increasingly involved with the AAC that—with Mahabane's assistance and together with certain coloured organizations—formed the basically Trotskyite Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM) in 1945. Mahabane was its first chairperson and later president until his resignation in 1956. In October 1948 he was the AAC delegate at a meeting with the ANC where a vain attempt was made to end the dissension between the two organizations. He was not a participant in the Defiance Campaign of 1952.

In October 1956 Mahabane attended the National Conference of Black Thinkers in Bloemfontein to discuss the Tomlinson Report (*Report of the Commission for the Socio-Economic Development of the Bantu Areas*) organized by the Interdenominational African Ministers' Federation (IDAMF). It was one of the most representative rallies of black people since the AAC meetings of the mid-thirties, and it rejected the commission's findings.

During the 1950s Mahabane increasingly applied himself to the problems of Christianity and its place in Africa. He put across his thoughts in this connection at various conferences in South Africa and elsewhere in Africa. He played a prominent role in the development of the Methodist Church in South Africa and helped to draw up the church's constitution and to define the equal status of all in the church. In addition he was one of the first three Africans to acquire an official position at the Methodist Church's conference. At the interchurch level he also held a leading role in the IDAMF. In 1927 and 1937 he attended international missionary conferences in Belgium where African affairs were discussed.

Mahabane was described as a diplomatic, slow-speaking and calm man, who combined politics and Christian ethics to fight racism. He was keen to unite all blacks into one firm and positive political front. Through the ANC he constantly tried to educate Africans about their rights and made frequent representations against the colour bar.

Mahabane lived and worked in Kroonstad for most of his long career. *The colour bar in South Africa* (Lovedale, 1923) was his only publication. He was married to Harriet Mantoro. The couple had three daughters and two sons.

Library of the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg: Xuma collection; — T. MATSHIKIZA, Masterpiece in bronze: long life, great times! *Drum*, May 1957; — Z.R. MAHABANE, *The good fight: selected speeches of Rev. Zaccheus R. Mahabane*. [Evanston, Ill., 196-]; — E. ROUX, *Time longer than rope: a history of the black man's struggle for freedom in South Africa*. 2nd ed., Madison, 1964; — C.M. DE VILLIERS, *Die African National Congress en sy aktiwiteite aan die Witwatersrand, 1912-1956*. M.A. thesis. University of Pretoria, 1965; — P. WALSH, *The rise of African Nationalism in South Africa: the African National Congress, 1912-1952*. London, 1970; — Obituary: *The Rand Daily Mail*, 27 September 1971; — T. KARIS & G.M. CARTER (eds), *From protest to challenge: a documentary history of African politics in South Africa, 1882-1964*. 4 vols. Stanford, 1972-1977; — T. LODGE, *Black politics in South Africa since 1945*. Johannesburg, 1983; — J. & R. SIMONS, *Class and colour in South Africa, 1850-1950*. London, 1983; — *Makers of modern Africa: profiles in history*. 2nd ed. London, 1991; — Private information: Mrs M.M. Mothekhe (granddaughter), Old Location, Brandfort.

MANGENA, Alfred (*Estcourt district, Natal, 1879—†Umtata, Cape Province



(later Transkei), 1924), politician and first African in South Africa to qualify as attorney, was of Zizi origin. Very little is known about his early life except that he attended primary school in his home district and then left for Cape Town in 1900 to further his education at a private school at St Barnabas Rectory.

While in Cape Town Mangena first became involved with political matters through two court cases—one case concerning Africans accused of resisting health measures imposed during the outbreak of a plague in 1901, and the other involving Africans resisting a relocation scheme from Cape

Town to Dobeni township. Shortly afterwards he left for England, first completing his secondary schooling and then reading law at Lincoln's Inn in London from October 1903 to July 1908.

While still in England, the trial following the Bambatha* Rebellion of 1906 started. Mangena petitioned the British government on behalf of the Africans who were facing court martial. Simultaneously he laid a charge against the governor of Natal, Sir Henry E. McCallum*, for allegedly declaring martial law illegally. In 1909 the Transvaal Native Congress requested Africans who were studying overseas to lobby on their behalf against the Act of Union (South Africa Act); thus Mangena and Pixley Seme were to liaise with the official deputation from South Africa led by W.P. Schreiner*, in the negotiations with the British government. Qualifying as attorney in the same year, he returned to South Africa in 1910.

Back in South Africa, Mangena had to overcome racial policies that prevented him from practising his profession. With the aid of his attorney C. Clark he eventually gained admission to the Supreme Court and established a legal practice in Pretoria. His practice soon grew to a successful concern with a branch in Johannesburg, and counting Paramount Chief Dalinyebo* of Tembuland among his clients. Many of his cases were disputes between

Africans and whites, Mangena then facing the resistance of whites being cross-examined by an African. In 1916 Mangena and Seme formed a law partnership in Johannesburg.

Mangena also became involved in political activities. In 1912 he was a founder member of the South African Native National Congress (SANNC, African National Congress (ANC) after 1923), being elected as one of the four vice-presidents. In 1913 he served on the SANNC deputation to the Minister of Native Affairs, J.W. Sauer*. The deputation petitioned the government about the 1913 Natives Land Act.

With Sefako M. Makgatho he started the *Native Advocate* in Pretoria in 1912, with A.K. Soga as editor. The newspaper lasted for about two years.

Mangena married Anna Victoria Cobela Ntuli* of Natal in 1916. The couple apparently had no children. Having suffered ill health for a long time, Mangena died at the age of 45. Skota (*infra*) described him as a "fearless man [whose] life was in danger more than once because of his success".

Transvaal Archives, Pretoria: TPD 8/4 123/1910, Application; — T.D.M. SKOTA (ed.), *The African who's who: an illustrated classified register and national biographical dictionary of the Africans in the Transvaal*. 3rd ed., rev. & enl. [Johannesburg, 1965]; — P. WALSH, *The rise of African Nationalism in South Africa: the African National Congress, 1912-1952*. London, 1970; — T. KARIS & G.M. CARTER (eds), *From protest to challenge: a documentary history of African politics in South Africa, 1882-1964. 1. Protest and hope, 1882-1934*. Stanford, 1972; — T. KARIS & G.M. CARTER (eds), *From protest to challenge: a documentary history of African politics in South Africa, 1882-1964. 4. Political profiles, 1882-1964*. Stanford, 1977; — A. ODENDAAL, *Black protest politics in South Africa to 1912*. Cape Town, 1984; — *Makers of modern Africa: profiles in history*. 2nd ed. London, 1991.

MANGENA, Anna Victoria (fl. 1910-1961), first qualified African nurse in the Transvaal. She was a daughter of John Cobela Ntuli and his wife, and was born at Mapumulo Mission Station (between Stanger and Kranskop), Natal, probably between 1885 and 1895. (Mangena apparently used her father's name for a surname. In all her correspondence she is referred to as 'Victoria Cobela'.)

Mangena received her schooling at the Inanda Seminary (or Lindley's Seminary). Instead of following the teaching profession which was about the only profession open to African youths at the time, she decided to become a nurse. She went to one of the few hospitals that did train Africans as nurses—Victoria Hospital, Lovedale in the Eastern Cape. She received her training under Dr Neil Macvicar* who was encouraging young African women to be trained as nurses.

As soon as she had qualified in 1910, she came to the Transvaal where she worked at a number of places as the first qualified African nurse. At Klerksdorp Hospital she worked for two years under Matron Helen Scott Russell as



so-called 'native nurse'. At the end of June 1915 she left Klerksdorp and joined the staff of the Crown Mines Native Hospital in Johannesburg, working under Matron T. Silverman. She remained there for six months. Apparently she also did some private nursing besides her work at the hospital.

In 1916 she married Alfred Mangena. At the time she was probably working as a nurse in Pretoria.

During the Great Influenza Epidemic of 1918, while she was still in Pretoria, Mangena heard that the New Brighton Location Hospital in Port Elizabeth was understaffed. She applied for a vacancy as a nurse at New Brighton and assumed duties on 1 November 1920. Mangena was mainly responsible for district nursing while her colleague Dora Jacobs worked in the hospital. When the latter left in 1923 Mangena took charge of the hospital services.

After her husband's death in 1924 Mangena returned to Johannesburg and was employed by the city council as a nurse at Klipspruit township, near Johannesburg. She worked for a number of years for the Johannesburg City Council.

She was a leading member of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Klipspruit, involving herself in community affairs. In her later life she did social service for the Public Utility Transport Corporation (PUTCO).

Mangena died in Klipspruit, Johannesburg, in 1961. It is not known if she had any children.

Central Archives, Pretoria: NTS, 2444, 11/291; — T.D.M. SKOTA (ed.), *The African who's who: an illustrated classified register and national biographical dictionary of the Africans in the Transvaal*. 3rd ed., rev. & enl. [Johannesburg, 1965].

MAPIKELA, Thomas Mtobi (*Hleunoeng, Basutoland (Lesotho), 21 November 1869—†Bloemfontein, 1945), businessman, politician and speaker of the African National Congress (ANC). He was very young when he and his parents moved to Queenstown in what was then the Cape Colony. He attended school there before going to the Grahamstown Kaffir Institution (or the Natives' College) where he qualified as a cabinet maker. In 1892 he went to Bloemfontein and settled in the Waaihoek township as carpenter/builder contractor. Here he soon became a respected inhabitant and built himself an imposing double-storey house.

In 1902 the Native Committee of the Bloemfontein district together with its leaders from Waaihoek came to the notice of the Bloemfontein authorities. Mapikela's involvement with politics began in about May 1903 when the Bloemfontein Native Vigilance Committee (BNVC) superseded the Native Committee. By the following year the leaders of the BNVC had succeeded in forming a loose alliance with other similar organizations in the Orange River Colony (Orange Free State) to form the Orange River Colony Native Vigilance Association. It was, however, in



June 1906 that Mapikela became prominent as office bearer of the newly established Orange River Colony Native Association (later changed to 'Congress').

Shortly before the Union of South Africa came into being Mapikela was closely involved with black protest against the colour bar in the draft constitution of the National Convention. He played a leading role in convening the South Africa Native Convention (SANC) which was held in Waaihoek from 24 to 26 March 1909 to discuss the draft constitution. In the same year he was a member of the SANC deputation to London, England, which failed to persuade the British parliament to reject the draft constitution with its colour bar.

In 1911 Mapikela was involved in attempts to establish the SANC as a permanent body. In January 1912 these attempts materialized when the South African Native National Congress (SANNC, African National Congress (ANC) after 1923) was established. Mapikela became its speaker—an office he held until 1940. From 1912 until his death he was also president of the Orange Free State branch of the SANNC besides being assistant treasurer of the SANNC and a co-drafter of the organization's 1919 constitution.

Mapikela was constantly involved in protests against pass legislation and other discriminatory measures. Before and after parliament's acceptance of the Native Land Act of 1913 he untiringly raised objections to it; in 1912 he was a member of a SANNC delegation to the Minister of Native Affairs, H. Burton*, which protested unsuccessfully against the impending act. In 1914 he was a member of the SANNC deputation to Britain to attempt to persuade the British king and parliament to force the South African government to take this act into reconsideration. The deputation failed. Though he took part in the protest against the segregatory measures in the Native Urban Areas Act of 1923, Mapikela supported the ANC resolution that it should assist the government in shaping its racial policy, and encouraged the establishment of local councils. Mapikela, who had already been elected as chairperson of the Native Advisory Council in Bloemfontein at its inception in 1920, therefore also served on the Location Advisory Boards Congress as treasurer for thirteen years. He was a member of the Bloemfontein branch of the multiracial Joint Council of Europeans and Bantu.

Mapikela was a moderate leader *par excellence*. With other conservative ANC leaders he was concerned about the growing support among black people for the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA, South African Communist Party (SACP) after 1953) in the 1920s. He was therefore instrumental in ousting J.T. Gumede*, who showed pro-communist tendencies, from the national presidency of the ANC in 1929. The upshot was that Mapikela, as ANC speaker, became acting president-general until Pixley Seme took over as president-general in 1930.

Mapikela also played a leading role during the general dissatisfaction amongst Africans with their position in South Africa and with the so-called J.B.M. Hertzog* Draft Bills—the Natives' Trust and Land Bill that affected ownership of land outside the reserves, and the Representation of Natives Bill which dealt with the question of the removal of the Cape black voters from the common voters' roll. Mapikela was one of the organizers of the All-African Convention (AAC) that was formed in 1935. At the first meeting in Bloemfon-

tein in December 1935 he was one of the main speakers. Despite the AAC's protest the Native Representation Act was accepted during the 1936 session of parliament. Moreover, in 1937 Mapikela was chosen as a member of the Native Representative Council (NRC) which was created as a result of the act. He remained a member of the NRC until his death. The ANC, working in collaboration with the Advisory Board Congress, continued its efforts to obtain concessions with regard to the Hertzog Bills and in June 1939 a large delegation—of which Mapikela was a member—was sent to Cape Town to interview the Minister of Native Affairs, H.A. Fagan.

In 1943 he was a member of the Atlantic Charter Committee of the ANC which had to study and discuss problems arising out of the Atlantic Charter in so far as it related to Africa. (The charter had originally been drawn up by Great Britain and the United States of America in 1941 as a "blueprint for future peace and security" and emphasized the maintenance of human rights.) The committee had to draw up a statement on the charter "from the standpoint of the Africans within the Union of South Africa" (called the *African Claims*), and draft a Bill of Rights.

In addition to his political activities Mapikela was active in his community in various other ways. His attempt to start a newspaper in Bloemfontein in 1908 failed, but in 1910 he was involved with a syndicate that published the newspaper *Tsala ea Becoana* in Kimberley, with Solomon T. Plaatje* as the editor. All the shareholders in the newspaper were closely involved with the SANC. In 1911 Mapikela was involved with the Interdenominational Conference of Native Races in Africa. During the same period he was one of the members of a promotion scheme which strove for the creation of a university college for Africans. This eventually led to the establishment of the University of Fort Hare. In 1928 he was chosen as chairperson of the provisional committee of the South African Non-White Athletics Union.

Mapikela was married and had nine children.

Library of the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg: Xuma collection; — E. ROUX, *Time longer than rope: a history of the black man's struggle for freedom in South Africa*. 2nd ed. Madison, 1964; — C.M. DE VILLIERS, *Die African National Congress en sy aktiwiteite aan die Witwatersrand, 1912-1956*. M.A. thesis. University of Pretoria, 1965; — P. WALSH, *The rise of African Nationalism in South Africa: the African National Congress, 1912-1952*. London, 1970; — T. KARIS & G.M. CARTER (eds), *From protest to challenge: a documentary history of African politics in South Africa, 1882-1964*. 1. *Protest and hope, 1882-1934*. Stanford, 1972; — T. KARIS & G.M. CARTER (eds), *From protest to challenge: a documentary history of African politics in South Africa, 1882-1964*. 2. *Hope and challenge, 1935-1952*. Stanford, 1973; — T. KARIS & G.M. CARTER (eds), *From protest to challenge: a documentary history of African politics in South Africa, 1882-1964*. 4. *Political profiles, 1882-1964*. Stanford, 1977; — J. & R. SIMONS, *Class and colour in South Africa, 1850-1950*. London, 1983; — A. ODENDAAL, *Black protest politics in South Africa to 1912*. Cape Town, 1984; — C.J.P. LEE ROUX, *Die openbare lewe van T. Mapikela*. Unpublished manuscript. Bloemfontein, 1988; — *Makers of modern Africa: profiles in history*. 2nd ed. London, 1991.

MARKS, John Beaver (*Ventersdorp, 21 March 1903—†Moscow, USSR (Russia), 1 August 1972), teacher, trade unionist and political activist, was the seventh child of an African railway worker, John Thelelwa Marks, and a midwife, Betty Esau, who was of white origin. He could have lived as a coloured which would have brought him material gain but he identified himself as an African. Though the Marks family spoke Afrikaans at home, the children preferred Tswana. After Marks had moved to Johannesburg, he also tried to learn other African languages like Xhosa.



In 1921 Marks graduated from Kilnerton Institution, a Methodist college in Pretoria. For the next ten years he taught in the Transvaal at Pilgrim's Rest and Potchefstroom, and in the Orange Free State at Vredefort. While teaching in Potchefstroom he made contact with the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA, South African Communist Party (SACP) after 1953), acting as interpreter at rallies. In 1928 Marks joined both the CPSA and the African National Congress (ANC). From 1930 to 1937 Marks was a member of the political bureau. During this time he was also seconded to help organize workers' councils of the CPSA—that campaigned for workers' rights to jobs, houses and food—in the Cape, periodically having to travel to Cape Town. In 1931, after he had been dismissed from his teaching post for his political activities, Marks became a full-time activist for the CPSA, contributing frequently to the CPSA newspaper *The South African Worker*. The CPSA later sponsored his further education in the Soviet Union where he studied at the Lenin School in Moscow, Russia.

Upon returning to South Africa in 1932 Marks stood for parliament as the CPSA candidate representing the Germiston area. It was a stormy campaign aimed at demonstrating the injustice of the electoral system, but Marks was unsuccessful. A number of canvassers were arrested under the 'racial hostility' clause of the Native Amendment Act of 1927.

In 1937 Marks led the Co-ordination Committee for the All-African Convention (AAC), following a CPSA policy decision to agree to revive the moribund ANC. He was, however, expelled from the CPSA for breach of discipline in that year, but was reinstated to the joint committee of the Johannesburg district two years later.

In 1939 Marks was a member of the joint ANC and Location Advisory Boards deputation that met with the secretary of Native Affairs, Dr D.L. Smit, to express African grievances against the pass laws, the franchise, the Native Land Act of 1913 and poverty wages. The deputation went away empty-handed. In the 1940s Marks became active in labour organization. The Second World War (1939–1945) stimulated South Africa's economy and blacks began to enter the factories in large numbers. In 1943 Marks was elected chairperson of the Council of Non-European Trade Unions (CNETU), a rapidly growing federation of 119 black trade unions, that by 1945 was able to claim a membership of 158 000. Also in 1943 Marks became president of the African Mine-

workers' Union (AMWU), a branch of the CNETU. For the first time in South Africa's history, industrial action led to a real wage strike by black workers. Prime Minister Gen. J.C. Smuts*, concerned at the growing militancy of the AMWU, passed War Measure no. 145 of 1942 which declared meetings of more than 20 to be illegal.

In 1946, after a three-year-old government commission failed to bring about any meaningful rise in their wages, over 70 000 mineworkers went on strike. The strike was crushed in five days, while Marks and the entire committee of the CPSA Johannesburg District were arrested for sedition. The charges were eventually dropped. The strike had far-reaching consequences that led to the *en masse* resignation of the moderate Native Representative Council (NRC) and brought closer alliance between the CPSA and the ANC.

With his reputation high, Marks was elected to the national executive committee of the ANC. Three years later Marks was elected president of the Transvaal branch of the ANC, in preference to C.S. Ramohane, a critic of the CPSA. In the same year, 1950, the CPSA was banned. It was later to re-emerge illegally as the SACP. In 1952 Marks was banned under the Suppression of Communism Act. He nevertheless took part in the Defiance Campaign and served a prison sentence for breaking a banning order.

Throughout the 1950s Marks continued his clandestine political activism. In 1962 he was elected chairperson of the SACP, a position he held until his death. In 1963 Marks was instructed to join the headquarters of the external mission in Tanzania. He left the country in the middle of the year, first visiting China and India before reaching Tanzania. It is also claimed that both he and Joe Slovo were among those who were tipped off about a possible raid on the SACP headquarters at Rivonia. The two then fled the country together, disguised as Anglican priests, Slovo going on to Israel or Europe and Marks to China.

Marks formed part of many delegations to international conferences; for example, in 1969 he chaired the Morogoro conference in Tanzania, which took the critical decision to open ANC membership to all races.

In 1971 Marks suffered a heart attack. He was treated in Moscow where he died the following year and was buried near Moses Kotane*.

Marks married Gladys Lekgoate, a colleague teacher in Potchefstroom in January c.1931. They had a son who died young, and a daughter. When Marks left the country his wife was teaching in Swaziland, and never saw her husband again. She was denied permission by the government to bury him in South Africa, and in about 1984 the ANC and the Defence and Aid Fund arranged for her to visit his grave.

Marks was a leading figure in that small but significant number of 'vanguardist' Marxist-Leninists whose political training, discipline and commitment were geared towards influencing the course of the ANC. The ANC shifted from Africanism in the 1940s and early 1950s to an alliance with the SACP. This change was to play a crucial role in the nature of resistance during the underground years.

The South African Worker/Umsebenzi, 1935-1937; — *Inkululeko*, 1941-1947; — *The*

Guardian, 1940–1947; — M.A. DU TOIT, *South African trade unions*. Johannesburg, 1976; — J. SLOVO, J.B. Marks: communist, man of the people, fighter for freedom. *African communist*, 95, 1983; — H.R. PIKE, *A history of communism in South Africa*, 2nd ed., rev. & enl. Germiston, 1988; — *Sixty five years in the frontline of struggle*, London, [1986]; — Private information: Ray Simons (trade union colleague and executive member of the SACP); Mrs Gladys Marks (widow), Eldorado Park, Johannesburg; Mr Stephen Marks (nephew), Newclare, Johannesburg.

MARTINS, Helen Elizabeth (*Nieu Bethesda, 23 December 1897—†Graaff-



Reinet, 8 August 1976), outsider artist known for the Owl House in the Karoo village of Nieu Bethesda, was the youngest of ten children (six survived infancy) born to Pieter Jakobus Martins and Hester Catharina Cornelia van der Merwe. Her father owned a smallholding and supplied the village with milk.

Martins attended the village school and then the Graaff-Reinet Teachers' Training College. She obtained her teaching diploma in 1918 and taught for approximately two years in Wakkerstroom. On 7 January 1920 she married Willem Johannes Pienaar in Nieu Bethesda. He was a teacher from Volksrust who also originated from the Nieu Bethesda district. They were divorced within two years. The details of her life and whereabouts during the next few years are unclear. A nephew maintains that she toured with the drama company of Paul de Groot* and took part in at least two performances, while some articles claim that she worked as a waitress in Cape Town and Port Elizabeth. However, before her thirtieth birthday she had returned to Nieu Bethesda to nurse her ailing mother.

Upon her mother's death she stayed with her father, an eccentric and demanding man. He moved into an outroom and they lived largely separate lives. By the time Martins was 50 years old, her father had also died. When she was about 60, she married a Mr J.J.M. Niemand, a pensioner and furniture restorer in the village. The marriage lasted only about three months.

Middle-aged and living alone in the house that she inherited from her parents, she gradually conceived the idea of altering and ultimately transforming it. The project increasingly became the focus of her life. Living on a pension, she poured all her meagre funds into it. Although highly inventive in her use of discarded materials such as bottles, it was necessary to buy cement and wire for building her sculptures, paints and adhesives for the interior glass walls, as well as many expensive custom-made mirrors. She also had labourers' wages to pay. This was her chief expense. Although possessed with an idea, she never felt capable of realizing it with her own hands. Her major hands-on contribution was the laborious crushing of the glass. Short of money, she neglected her physical needs to the extent that concerned neighbours began supplying her with plates of food.

Martins grew increasingly reclusive, withdrawing into the private world of

her creation. She felt misunderstood, the focus of village gossip and ridicule. She continued working until her death in August 1976. Depressed, and with declining health and eyesight, she swallowed caustic soda, dying in the Graaff-Reinet hospital three days later.

The Owl House, as her house became known, evolved through a number of distinct phases as Martins's vision grew in momentum and complexity. She initially altered the interior of the house, installing large windows of coloured glass. Her obsession with light then found expression in the unique manner in which she coated the interior with glittering crushed glass, creating surfaces that are visually enticing but dangerous to touch. She placed numerous candles and lamps inside the house. It is chiefly at night, in the light of their flickering flames, that the glass particles sparkle in the reflected light. Mirrors on the walls reflect light and suggest new illusionistic vistas of space. Many of these mirrors have the symbolic shapes of sources of light: suns, moons and stars.

The interior was crammed with symbolic objects. Significant motifs were repeated—the owl, mermaid, dressing table and Mona Lisa were among these. Many have their counterparts in the L-shaped sculpture garden that flanks two sides of the house.

Martins called the half-acre garden 'A Camel Yard'. Processions of cement camels, mostly about three-quarters life-size, form part of this dense sculptural world, teeming with pilgrims, people, birds and other creatures. A major motif was the spiritual quest for salvation and enlightenment. Martins's religious sources were eclectic. Biblical figures mingle with a Buddha, a meditating Hindu and shrines built from beer bottles that she called her 'Meccas'. The *Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám* was a source of inspiration, as was the Bible and the work of William Blake. The sculpture is a mixture of literal transcriptions of source material, and original imagery such as the fantastical beast, half-camel and half-owl.

It is for the transformation of her home and garden that Martins is regarded as an outsider artist of vision and ability. Outside of the mainstream of artistic output or recognition, outsider art is usually made by artistically untrained individuals who do not see themselves as artists nor create with the intention of exhibiting or selling. Like Martins, they often transform their immediate domestic environment, frequently using readily available but unconventional materials such as Martins's bottles. The work springs from an inner compulsion, and often commences, as in Martins's case, in the later half of life. It is sometimes also termed 'raw art' or 'art brut'.

The Owl House was a collaborative venture. Martins's vision was channelled through the workmanship of others: chief among these were a Mr Hattinck, Piet van der Merwe, Jonas Adams, and especially Koos Malgas who worked for her for twelve years as a sculpture builder. This artistic division of conceptualization and labour raises some interesting issues. It challenges notions of the autonomous creative artist. It also necessitates the teasing out of respective individual contributions in order to clarify the meaning and significance of the work, and attribute credit where it is due.

The Owl House is a challenging art work which has raised numerous debates. Its archetypal nature has attracted a growing body of academic

research. One approach is to examine the work in relation to its mythological content and the artist's manipulation of a personalized mythology; another is to view it against a framework of alchemical symbolism.

The Owl House, now a museum, was bought by the Nieu Bethesda municipality from Martins's nephew, Herman Martins. In 1989 it received provisional National Monument status. In January 1991 the Friends of the Owl House, a charitable fund-raising body, installed Koos Malgas as its restorer, thanks to generous sponsorship, thus ensuring the survival of Martins's vision in the short term.

A play based on Helen Martins's life story, *The road to Mecca*, was written by playwright Atholl Fugard. It has also been made into a film.

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former cabinet minister), Pretoria.

MATSEPE, Oliver Kgadime (Phukubjane) (*Magagamatala (Brakfontein or Mmitse), Groblersdal district, 22 March 1932— †Tafelkop, Groblersdal district, 4 October 1974), Northern Sotho novelist, was the son of Malua Matsepe, senior police sergeant, and the grandson of Chief Bloeu of the Kopa tribe.



Although Matsepe came from a non-Christian family, he was educated at mission schools. From 1942 to 1949 he received his primary school education at Phokoane United Christian School at Nebo. In 1945, however, his schooling was interrupted to enable him to attend circumcision school. From 1950 he attended another mission school, Botšhabelo High School, Middelburg, Transvaal. Here he was baptized and received full membership of the Lutheran Church, also attending confirmation classes at Botšhabelo. In 1955 he matriculated at Kilner-ton Institution, a Methodist college in Pretoria.

For most of his working life Matsepe was employed as clerk and court interpreter for the Department of Bantu Administration and Development. He served in Soekmekaar, Groblersdal, Potgietersrus and Nebo. For a short while he left this occupation to run a general dealer's business, but soon returned to his old work (1972) because it gave him more time to concentrate on his writing, confirmed by the fact that he wrote five novels and four volumes of poetry during the last two years of his life.

At school Matsepe was a voracious reader. The works of especially William Shakespeare, Jane Austen and Charles Dickens influenced and inspired him. However, he also read the works of other authors, including Afrikaans authors.

Although Matsepe expressed a diverse number of views on life in his various works, it would seem that they all converged to form one solid philosophy: man must love, trust and adore the living God who is the Creator of the universe. Religion thus played an important role in almost all of Matsepe's works. Evidently the three mission schools which Matsepe attended, gave his religious outlook a sound foundation. Nevertheless, his traditional upbringing remained part of the milieu from which he received inspiration. For Matsepe, the Christian and traditional religions were complementary. Just as the Christians believe that to communicate with God, we must go through our Lord Jesus Christ, Matsepe believed that the traditionalists communicate with God through the gods (ancestral spirits).

His career as clerk and court interpreter proved to serve as a source of inspiration. Moving from one magistrate's court to the other, the difference between the Western court and the traditional *Kgoro* seemed to have helped him to find an environment for his literary acumen. One of the most outstanding characteristics of his prose fiction is the inclusion of a diversity of court

cases. It will not be too presumptuous to say that these cases show how much influence his places of work had on him. Unwary readers of Matsepe regard these cases as irrelevant material which merely enlarged the size of his novels, but Matsepe introduced these cases in his novels to show the vicissitudes of life, not only in the community that he recreated, but in any society, traditional or modern; to emphasize the importance of justice in the welfare of any community; to preserve for posterity the fine legal procedures used by traditional communities, thus showing a close relationship between the king and his subjects; to serve as relief scenes in the course of the narrative; and as a vehicle of character delineation: diverse cases were brought before different neighbouring rulers in order to assess their sense of judgement and wisdom. Throughout his novels Matsepe concentrated on the theme rather than on the creation of lifelike characters.

His writing career began at Kilnerton Institution when he wrote his first literary work *Sebatakomo* (1954), which created great expectations among the Northern Sotho reading public. It was only his last three novels which reflected a downward trend, because the skilful handling of the plot, character and theme, which manifested in the previous works, appears to have diminished.

Matsepe's poetry can be divided into four thematic fields, namely praise poetry, nature and natural phenomena, social and moral patterns, and religion.

In his short lifespan Matsepe wrote nine novels and six volumes of poetry. It is not only the quantity of literary matter that makes him stand head and shoulders above other Northern Sotho authors, but also the quality of his work. That Matsepe was, to a greater or lesser degree, an innovator, is quite evident. His dynamic recourse to traditional life and thought was not to leave Northern Sotho poetry unimpressed. If it did not dictate a new approach to poetry and to literature as a whole, it at least opened new vistas for exploration and exploitation. On reading several later poets such as H.M. Lentsoane and S.N. Tseke, one is struck by the unmistakable Matsepeism that pervades their works. It is clear that Matsepe's poetry ushered in an era in which poetry freely drew substance and/or expression from traditional life. The same holds with his prose works. Holding to his traditional views, Matsepe still acknowledged the existence of God and Christian ethics. His works give the reader an insight into the religious, traditional, natural and social situations, and at the same time preserved the social and cultural heritage of the people. These works had a profound impact on later writers, so much so that most of them began to base their works on traditional life. Among such writers are P. Lebopa, P.D. Sekhukhune, J.R.L. Rafapa and J.M. Moswane.

The Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns (South African Academy for Arts and Science) twice awarded Matsepe the S.E. Mqhayi Prize. In 1964 he received it for *Kgorong ya mošate* (At the king's court) (1962), which is sometimes called the first full-length novel in Northern Sotho, and in 1973 for *Meyokgo ya bjoko* (Tears of the brain) (1969).

Matsepe was humble and reserved, and a traditionalist who believed in polygamy. He had two wives—Maselo Magampa and Gobakwang Morare. From the first marriage one daughter and three sons were born. No children were born from the second marriage.

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MATTHEWS, Zachariah Keodirelang (*Winter's Rush, Barkly West district, 20 October 1901—†Washington, United States of America (USA), 12 May 1968), academic, politician and ambassador, was one of the children of a former miner and cafe owner, Peter Motsielwa Matthews, and his wife Martha Mooketsi. Matthews grew up in Kimberley and attended missionary schools there, as well as in the Eastern Cape. After he had matriculated at Lovedale Institution at Alice in the Eastern Cape, he enrolled at the South African Native College (University of Fort Hare) where degree courses of the University of South Africa were offered. In 1924 he became the first African to obtain the B.A. degree from the University of South



Africa.

In 1925 he was appointed as first African principal of Adams College (Amanzimtoti Zulu Training College) in Amanzimtoti, Natal. He joined the Natal Bantu Teachers' Association and in due course became its president. Apart from this he was involved with the Durban Joint Council of Europeans and Bantu. In his spare time he studied law through a correspondence course and in 1930 became the first African to obtain the LL.B. degree from the University of South Africa. Subsequently he was admitted to the bar of the Transvaal division of the Supreme Court, but did not join the legal profession because he wanted to improve his academic qualifications abroad. In 1932 he obtained a scholarship to study under C. Loram's* programme of Studies in Race Relations and Culture Contact at the Yale University in the USA and in 1934 obtained the M.A. degree. After that he did a postgraduate course in social anthropology at the London School of Economics in England.

Matthews returned to South Africa in 1935, initially to Adams College, but in January 1936 became a lecturer in social anthropology and native law at the South African Native College at Fort Hare. Later that year he also became a member of the Royal Commission of Enquiry into Higher Education for Blacks

in British East Africa and Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. In 1945 he was promoted to professor and head of the Department of African Studies at the college. In the same year he was appointed by the Minister of Education to serve as representative of the Native Representative Council (NRC) on the Union Advisory Council on Native Education. Time and again he was asked to testify before commissions of enquiry. Apart from the above activities he served in the executive committee of the South African Institute for Race Relations for nine years until he resigned in 1945. He was also a member of the Ciskei Missionary Council.

On his return Matthews embarked on fieldwork to establish the effects of modern social and economic life on the traditional African way of life and the integration between the old and the new. However, the increasing demands of his teaching and political commitments prevented him from continuing his academic research after the beginning of the 1940s.

After his return to South Africa Matthews became increasingly involved with politics. He immediately took part in protest actions against the removal of male African voters in the Cape Province from the electoral roll. With D.D.T. Jabavu* and others he organized the All-African Convention (AAC) in Bloemfontein in December 1935 and was elected to the AAC executive committee. He also joined the African National Congress (ANC) in 1940 and soon assumed a leading role. He was elected to the NRC in 1942 and played a leading role in the disagreement between the government and the NRC until 1950 when he resigned in protest against government policy. He was elected to the national executive committee of the ANC in 1943 and in the same year served as chairperson of the Atlantic Charter Committee of the ANC which had to study and discuss problems arising out of the Atlantic Charter in so far as it related to Africa. (The charter had originally been drawn up by Great Britain and the USA in 1941 as a "blueprint for future peace and security" and emphasized the maintenance of human rights.) The committee had to draw up a statement on the charter "from the standpoint of the Africans within the Union of South Africa" (called the *African Claims*), and draft a Bill of Rights. Matthews became treasurer of the Cape provincial branch of the ANC and in 1949 succeeded James Calata* as president of that branch. Despite severe criticism by the ANC Youth League (CYL) for his waiting too long to resign from the NRC, the CYL was almost unanimous in requesting him in 1949 to become their candidate for the ANC presidency, but he was not prepared to make himself eligible. In the same year he assisted with the writing of the 1949 Programme of Action of the ANC.

In 1952 Matthews was involved in the preparations for the Defiance Campaign. For the full duration of the campaign he was, however, abroad as visiting professor at the Union Theological Seminary in New York, USA, giving lectures on Christian missions in Africa. Shortly after his return to South Africa in May 1953 he proposed that a national convention of all South Africans be held during which a peace manifesto should be drafted. His proposal was generally met with approval by the ANC and several other organizations, and resulted in the Congress of the People of June 1955 during which the Freedom Charter was approved. Matthews, however, neither

attended the congress nor took part in the drafting of the charter. During the first half of 1955 relations between the students at Fort Hare and the college authorities deteriorated to such an extent that a commission of inquiry was appointed to investigate all aspects of life on the campus. The situation remained tense for the rest of 1955. In December 1955 he became acting principal of Fort Hare—a position he previously held for six months in 1954. Although he had not attended the Congress of the People, he was arrested in December 1956 as one of the 156 accused in the Treason Trial which lasted until 1961.

In April 1959 Matthews and 60 co-accused were provisionally acquitted. (He was finally acquitted in March 1961.) He returned to Fort Hare and also continued his activities as president of the Cape branch of the ANC. In September of that year the Department of Bantu Education took over the administration of the University College of Fort Hare. This meant that all personnel were now civil servants and would not be allowed to belong to any political party or organization. Rather than resign from the ANC Matthews resigned from his position on the academic staff. Furthermore, he protested against the exclusion of Africans from the so-called white universities and demanded free, compulsory and government-funded education for Africans. He claimed that the education of the Department of Bantu Education was worse than no education.

Matthews then started practising as attorney in Alice, but was hampered by government action against him. During the state of emergency that followed the Sharpeville shootings in 1960 and which coincided with the banning of the ANC, Matthews was detained for six months. In December 1960 he was involved with the interchurch conference at Cottesloe in Johannesburg which was organized by the World Council of Churches (WCC). He figured prominently in his criticism against the government in South Africa. He blamed them for not consulting with the real leaders of the Africans, but only with those the government had chosen as leaders. In September 1961 he was appointed by the WCC as Africa secretary of the Division of Inter-Church Aid, Refugee and World Services. He left South Africa and worked from Geneva, Switzerland. He resigned from the WCC in 1966—having in 1965 already notified Sir Seretse Khama of Botswana of his intention to retire to Botswana—and was appointed as Botswana's first ambassador to the USA and as envoy to the United Nations.

Matthews received two honorary doctorates of law, one in 1961 from Rhodes University, Grahamstown, and the other posthumously from the University of Lincoln in the USA.

A prolific writer, he produced an autobiography, *Freedom for my people* (which includes a list of his articles and contributions), as well as a series of articles on prominent African figures which was published as 'Our Heritage' in *Imvo Zabantsundu*. He was a modest man who followed his political convictions to gain what he felt were vital objectives. His religious beliefs were deep and genuine though he did not speak of them frequently. Although he did not have the charisma, humour, and popular appeal other politicians had, Matthews remained a reserved but good listener who, in difficult situations, would

formulate a resolution which conflicting parties could accept.

Matthews married Frieda Bokwe in 1928. She was the daughter of the missionary John K. Bokwe* and held a social sciences degree from the South African Native College. Two sons and three daughters were born of the marriage. Matthews died in Washington, USA, and was buried in Gaborone, Botswana.

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MAXEKE, Charlotte Makgomo (*Fort Beaufort, Cape Colony, 7 April 1874—†Johannesburg, 16 October 1939), teacher,



social worker, politician and founder of the Bantu Women's League of South Africa. The sources concerning her life contain a considerable number of discrepancies. Her maiden name was Manye. She grew up in a Christian milieu and received missionary education in the Eastern Cape. She qualified as a teacher and went to teach in Kimberley. There she joined a choir that went on two overseas tours. The first was to the British Isles and the second to Canada and the United States of America (USA). While they were in New York Maxeke left the choir to enrol at the Wilberforce University in Cleveland,

Ohio. This was an institute of the African Methodist Episcopal Church (AMEC), directed by Afro-Americans. There she acquired a B.A. degree (some sources contend a B.Sc. degree), the first African woman from South Africa to receive a baccalaureate degree.

At Wilberforce Maxeke came under the influence of the AMEC and effected contact between that church and the founder of the Ethiopian Church in South Africa, Rev. M.M. Mokone. This led to the founding of the AMEC in South Africa. This episode in Maxeke's life later earned her the unofficial

title of 'Mother of the AMEC in South Africa'.

Maxeke returned to South Africa in the service of the AMEC in 1901 or 1905. In Johannesburg she became the organizer of the Women's Mite Missionary Society. After that she went to the Pietersburg district where she became a teacher-evangelist. It was apparently there that she married Rev. M.M. Maxeke who was also a graduate of the Wilberforce University and a minister of the AMEC. (They probably married in 1903, though some sources contend that they married earlier.) The training college that they established in the Pietersburg district was not a success—presumably, as Skota (*infra*) argues, because "the standard of African education was very low". After they re-established the college at Evaton on the Witwatersrand it flourished as the well-known Wilberforce Institute. The Maxekes subsequently served as evangelist-teachers in Klerksdorp and then in Transkei. Their attempt to establish a training college in Transkei, however, was unsuccessful due to a lack of funds. The Maxekes returned to Johannesburg where they settled permanently.

She remained active in missionary work and the AMEC elected her as president of the Women's Missionary Society. In 1928 she attended a conference of the AMEC in the USA. Maxeke became increasingly interested in the welfare of Africans and did welfare work on various levels. She was appointed as parole officer for juvenile delinquents in Johannesburg, the first African woman to obtain such an appointment. Maxeke also managed an employment agency for African women in Johannesburg.

Maxeke was sporadically involved in multiracial activities. In 1921 she addressed the Women's Reform Club of Pretoria, a white women's organization that campaigned especially for voting rights for women. Later during the 1920s she joined the Joint Council of Europeans and Bantu. She was apparently very pleased with the movement because in 1930 she suggested that similar 'Joint Service Boards' between white and black women should be formed. Nothing came of it. By 1930 she had apparently retired, but she still acted as speaker, *inter alia* at the Conference of European and Bantu Christian Student Associations held at Fort Hare from 27 June to 3 July that year. On this occasion she delivered an address on the social conditions among African women and girls.

Maxeke was known country-wide for her political activities. In 1918 she was the driving force behind the establishment of the Bantu Women's League of the South African Native National Congress (SANNC, African National Congress (ANC) after 1923). As president of the Women's League she led a delegation to Prime Minister Louis Botha* in 1918 to discuss the question of passes for women as proposed in an amendment of the pass laws. In 1919 she was prominent as leader of the women who demonstrated against the proposed amendments to the pass laws. The following year (1920) she gave evidence before the Inter-Departmental Committee of Enquiry into Passes.

In June 1918 Maxeke was also involved in the upsurge of dissatisfaction amongst African workers on the Witwatersrand about their low wages. In 1920 she was active in establishing the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU). In December 1935 the Bantu Women's League, of which Maxeke was still president, was the only women's organization invited to the first meeting

of the All-African Convention (AAC) in Bloemfontein. Moreover, Maxeke was invited to be one of the speakers at the convention. During the AAC the women of various centres decided to join forces and formed the National Council of African Women. Maxeke was elected as first national president.

Even before her death Maxeke was honoured as 'Mother of Black Freedom in South Africa'. After her death she was lauded in reports, especially by the ANC. A nursery school at the ANC teaching centre in Tanzania was also named after her: the Charlotte Maxeke Children's Centre.

A son was born of her marriage to Marshall Maxeke. Her husband and her son predeceased her.

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MBELLE, Horatio Isaiah Budlwana (Bud) (*Burgersdorp, Cape Colony, 24



June 1870—†Pretoria, 16 July 1947), interpreter, insurance agent, community leader, and politician. He grew up in the Herschel district in the Eastern Cape where Sotho and Nguni languages were spoken. He was educated at the Wesleyan Methodist Primary School and from 1886 to 1888 at Healdtown Institution, a Methodist boarding school near Fort Beaufort in the Eastern Cape, where he qualified as a teacher. For the next five years Mbele taught at Herschel and Colesberg. In the meantime he continued studying and in 1892 became the first African to pass the Cape Civil Service Examination, passing Afrikaans, English, Sotho, Tswana, Xhosa

and Zulu.

Mbele then became a court interpreter. His first position was at the Supreme Court at Grahamstown. In 1894 Mbele became the interpreter for African languages at the Supreme Court of Griqualand West at Kimberley—a post which he held for more than 20 years. On occasion he also had to interpret for dignitaries such as the Earl of Athlone* and his wife, Princess Alice*, S.C. Buxton* (first Earl of Buxton), and even for the Prince of Wales during his visit in 1925.

In Kimberley Mbelle settled in the Malay camp, a multiracial township where he quickly played a leading role in community life. The upliftment of his fellow Africans was especially close to his heart. He was involved in the establishment of schools for Africans in Griqualand West and served on the school committee of Lyndhurst Road School in Kimberley for many years. In addition he was one of the members of a promotion scheme which strove for the creation of a university college for Africans. This eventually led to the establishment of the University of Fort Hare.

Mbelle was a founder member of the South Africans' Improvement Society and of the Kimberley branch of the Young Men's Christian Association. He became known for the furtherance of music among African people and was a founder member and for many years director of the Philharmonic Society of the North-Western Cape. As a faithful churchgoer he became a circuit steward in the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Kimberley. Lastly he was a talented rugby and cricket player and he took the lead in the local African community sports activities.

When Mbelle's post as court interpreter was abolished at the end of 1915, he raised objections to this, but to no avail. Consequently he moved to Johannesburg where he became an insurance agent.

Seen against the background of the many fields in which Mbelle played a role in Kimberley it is understandable that he would become involved in politics in due course. While in Kimberley he joined the South African Native National Congress (SANNC, African National Congress (ANC) after 1923) and after moving to Johannesburg he became increasingly active and well known in politics. In 1917 he became general secretary of the SANNC. In this capacity he helped to articulate the grievances of his fellow Africans against discriminatory measures, even though he could be considered conservative and moderate in his actions. In 1919 he resigned his position in the SANNC as a result of its internal differences, *inter alia* about the delegation which was sent to Britain in 1919 to protest against the colour bar in South Africa. Simultaneously Mbelle resigned as insurance agent, and returned to the civil service as interpreter at the head office of the Department of Native Affairs in Pretoria. He remained there until his retirement.

In Pretoria he settled in the so-called Cape Location (Marabastad), where he quickly played a leading role in the local church, social and political life. He was a member of the Pretoria branch of the Joint Council of Europeans and Bantu and a founder member of the Pretoria Advisory Council for African affairs. In 1935 he was one of the speakers at the All-African Convention (AAC).

Mbelle was a well-read and well-travelled person. He was the author of the *Xhosa scholar's companion* and took a great interest in the education of Africans. He was widely regarded as the best court interpreter of his day.

He married Maria Johanna Smouse in 1897. Three daughters were born of the marriage; the eldest daughter was married to R.W. Msimang. Mbelle was a lifelong friend of Solomon T. Plaatje* who was married to his sister.

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MENTZ, Esther Susanna (*Edenville, Orange Free State, 8 January 1911— †Lafayette, Louisiana, United States of America (USA), 19 November 1986), soprano, stage and film actress, was the youngest of the eight children—four sons and four daughters—of Thomas Ignatius Mentz and his wife Maria Thalita Kumi Wesels.



After matriculating in Edenville, Mentz studied at the Conservatoire of Music at the University of Stellenbosch from 1929 to 1931, where she received singing instruction from Margaret Wandelt and took courses in pianoforte, organ and elocution. She obtained the University Licentiate in Music diploma in singing and the Licentiate of the College of Music elocution teachers' diploma. In 1930 she made Afrikaans records for music companies and until 1934 she taught singing and was church organist in Franschhoek and Cape Town.

From 1934 to 1937 Mentz studied singing and acting in Germany under the famous Berlin tutor Prof. Ernst Grenzbach. During her stay in Europe she often broadcast from Berlin, Hamburg, London and Brussels, often directly to South Africa.

Multitalented with a beautiful voice and imposing stage personality, she was a pioneer in various cultural fields after her return to South Africa. She was also music critic for *Die Vaderland*.

During the Johannesburg opera season of 1941 she made her debut as Micaela in *Carmen* under director John Connell*. Five years later she sang the title role in the same opera with great success during the first staging of this work in Afrikaans. The opera was translated by her husband Gideon Roos. In the first Afrikaans performance of *Tales of Hoffmann* she sang the roles of Giulietta and Antonia. She also sang Venus in *Tannhäuser*, as well as title roles in several operettas such as *The waltz dream*, *The merry widow* and *Gypsy love*.

Mentz was actively involved in several organizations that promoted interest in opera and the development of opera. She was a founder member of Alessandro (Alexander) Rota's National Opera Association and remained a member until it was replaced by the Performing Arts Council of Transvaal (PACT). She then became a member of PACT's Opera Committee. She was

also a member of the executive committee of the Johannesburg Music Society.

As a sought after concert singer she performed in large centres as well as country towns. She had a preference for lieder and performed Afrikaans compositions locally and overseas. She discovered the talent of Emma Renzi (Emmerentia Scheepers) and gave her her first singing instruction.

Mentz was an important pioneer of Afrikaans films. She was a star, with Gideon Roos and Jan Schutte, in the first film version of an Afrikaans novel, C.J. Langenhoven's* *Donker spore*. This was followed by *Pinkle se erfenis* (1946), *'n Plan is 'n boerdery* (1954), *Vadertjie Langbeen* (1954), *Matieland* (1955) and *Piet se tante* (1959). In the theatre she excelled in amongst others *Die kerkmuur*, *Eindeksamen* and the comedy *Nie vir geleerdes nie*, which N.P. van Wyk Louw* wrote specially for the Union Festival of 1960.

On 8 January 1938 Mentz married Gideon Daniël Roos, head of the South African Broadcasting Corporation. Two sons and a daughter were born of the marriage. She died while visiting her daughter in the USA.

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MOILOA II (Moiilwa) (*Kaditshwene, in the present-day Marico district, c.1795—†Dinokana, in the Zeerust district, 6 July 1875), chief of the Moilwa clan of the Hurutshe from 1846 to 1875. He was a junior son of the third hut of the acting Chief Sebogodi I who was killed in a fight with the Ngwaketse in 1814 or 1815. After Sebogodi's death Moilwa's uncles succeeded as acting chiefs, first Diutlwieng until he died in 1823, and after that Mokgathle until his death in 1845. However, Moilwa had already been playing a leading role in tribal affairs since about 1840.

The Rev. John Campbell* met Moilwa in 1820, describing him as "tall and well shaped, of a mild countenance, and about twenty-five years of age". His "popularity", Campbell believed, would lead to his becoming chief though his senior brother of the second hut, Motlaadile, would have been next in succession after the rightful issue of the great wife, namely Mênwê and his two sons Lentswe* and Gopane.

In 1823 or 1824, two years after Campbell's visit, the Hurutshe were driven away from their homeland in the Marico district and their twin capital was



destroyed during the raid of Sebetwane* (Sebetoana), victims of the *difaqane*. Although the Hurutshe were scattered, the majority moved to Mosega (a mission station southwest of Zeerust) with Mokgathle and Moiloa. However, in 1831 they were again driven out by Mzilikazi's* Matabele, and for a period of three months fled further south to Modimong in the Taung district. In 1837 the Voortrekker leader Andries Potgieter* requested the Hurutshe to help him in a retaliatory raid against the Matabele occupying the Marico. They consented and Moiloa led a contingent of 300 men. The Voortrekkers, being ignorant of the customary law of succession, therefore treated Moiloa as chief of the tribe. This contributed to the subsequent split between the heirs Mênwê and his two sons Lentswe and Gopane, and Moiloa and his followers.

Campbell's prediction then proved true, for in 1846 Moiloa wrested the chieftainship from his brother (Mokgathle) and the sons of his uncle (Lentswe and Gopane). In 1874 he led the Hurutshe back to their region of origin. To do that he had to negotiate with the Voortrekker leader Andries Potgieter, who by then effectively controlled the western highveld area.

Moiloa next set about restoring the political, economic and social foundations of the Hurutshe. He was allowed to occupy a location of 125 587 morgen (approximately 107 544 hectares). His capital at Dinokana (northwest of Zeerust) was blessed with a plentiful supply of water from large fountains. As vassals of the Transvaal Republic (before and after the Transvaal War of Independence of 1880-1881) Moiloa's Hurutshe had to render tribute and labour to the Transvaal government. They also had to assist in military expeditions against Tswana communities living to the west. The first decade under white authority thus proved to be extremely difficult, and came to a head when a Boer commando raided the Kgatla (Khatla), Ngwaketse and Rolong, partly to force them to pay their levies to the Transvaal government. In addition the Transvaal government expelled the missionaries of the London Missionary Society, who on Moiloa's invitation had established a station among the Hurutshe. During the conflict Moiloa and his followers abandoned their location and fled to the west in August 1852 to join the Ngwaketse, living at Lobatse in the present-day Botswana. In January 1853 J.W. (Jan) Viljoen* met Moiloa who explained to Viljoen that he, Moiloa, was considered a traitor because he was living among whites. He nevertheless reaffirmed his goodwill towards the Transvaal Republic. Though he would not promise to render labour to the white farmers, he undertook to see to it that his people help the farmers on condition that the Transvaal Republic refrained from acting as aggressor.

Due partly to Moiloa's astute leadership the Hurutshe slowly asserted their independence from the Transvaal Republic. The Boers came to depend on Moiloa for labour, for access to hunting grounds to the northwest, for information regarding political affairs in the region and for protection against raids by Tswana tribes. Moiloa turned this dependence to his advantage: he secured a personal assurance from M.W. Pretorius*, president of the Transvaal Republic, that no land would be taken away from the Hurutshe; he negotiated with the authorities to have the compulsory labour system replaced with a less exacting direct tax; he asked for, and was granted, permission to allow missionaries of the Hermannsburg Missionary Society to settle among his

people; and he established sounder relations with his Tswana neighbours, the Kwena and Ngwaketse.

Moiloa was active also in reviving the economy of the Hurutshe. Productive growth was founded on irrigation, the introduction of new crops such as citrus, tobacco and wheat, and an increase in cattle holdings. In 1875 Moiloa's people produced 1 600 lbs (about 727 kg) of wheat. Hunting was a common activity and products such as skins and ostrich feathers were traded in Dinokana which became an important trade centre.

Moiloa also reconstructed Hurutshe social life. He reinstated initiation schools, allowed rainmakers to practise their skills, and he formed six new regiments during his rule. Though he did not convert to Christianity he allowed others to do so and never hindered the activities of the missionaries. The missionary Thomas Jensen described him as "an excellent man, not only as a ruler but also in the way he aids the spread of Christianity". This conciliatory policy towards both 'traditionalists' and Christians brought peace to his community.

Moiloa became ill in July 1875. However, he refused to accept conversion despite the entreaties of his missionaries. Nevertheless, in a typical gesture of compromise he gave instructions to be laid in a coffin and not to be buried in the customary sitting position. He refused to nominate an heir, probably because he was theoretically only a regent. After his death his people divided, some supporting his son Sebogodi II, and others supporting Gopane, the son of Mokgathle. The latter faction moved away to Manoane some 20 km to the north.

Moiloa reconstituted his people during a very troubled period by following an astute policy of compromise and negotiation. However, when circumstances allowed, he often resisted and challenged the authority of the Transvaal Republic. Through shrewd political action he gained a measure of political independence and laid the material foundation of the Hurutshe people.

He had seven wives and several children.

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MOLEMA, Seetsele Modiri (Silas Moliri) (*Mafeking (Mafikeng), c. February 1891—†Mafeking, 13 August 1965), medical doctor, politician and author. He was the eldest son of Chief Silas Thelesho Molema of the Rolong, a Tswana tribe, and his first wife Molalanyana (Mamhula). Molema received his education in the Eastern Cape at Healdtown Institution, a Methodist boarding school near Fort Beaufort, and at Lovedale Institution at Alice where he matriculated. He then taught at Lyndhurst Road Public School in Kimberley. Shortly after the outbreak of World War I (1914-1918) his parents sent him to the University of Glasgow in Scotland where he qualified as medical doctor in 1919. While he was there he also wrote and published an important historical



and ethnographical work, *The Bantu: past and present* (Edinburgh, 1920). Having completed his studies he worked in Glasgow and Edinburgh for a time before returning to Mafeking in 1921.

Molema wanted to take part in effecting the upliftment and wellbeing of Africans, *inter alia* through the training of as many African nurses as possible in order to provide medical care for the relatively large African population. On his return to South Africa he built up a very successful medical practice in Mafeking, with many of his patients

coming from the white community—a fact that probably influenced his initial moderate political viewpoint. The first surgery he opened was for Indians and coloureds. Subsequently he opened a nursing home for all races but due to financial difficulties had to close it down. He also opened a branch of his practice in Johannesburg, but after a time handed this over to his brother who was also a doctor.

Because Mafeking is far to the north, it was difficult for Molema to play an active role in political activities outside his immediate environment. Nevertheless, he did not stay totally in the background. Having joined the African National Congress (ANC) shortly after his return from Scotland, he was already in 1925 the director of its Department of Research in African Science. It was, however, specifically the general African dissatisfaction with the so-called J.B.M. Hertzog* Draft Bills that caused him to become politically active. (The Natives' Trust and Land Bill affected ownership of land outside the reserves and the Representation of Natives Bill dealt with the question of the removal of the Cape black voters from the common voters' roll.) In opposition to Hertzog's legislation, the All-African Convention (AAC) was formed in 1935 and in December Molema attended its first meeting in Bloemfontein. He was also a member of the delegation which conveyed to the government the attitude of Africans regarding the draft bills.

The increased political activity changed his original cautious and moderate stance. After his colleague Dr A.B. Xuma* had been chosen as president-general of the ANC, Molema became progressively involved with the ANC's activities and took part in its reorganization. In 1943 he was a member of the Atlantic Charter Committee of the ANC which had to study and discuss problems arising out of the Atlantic Charter in so far as it related to Africa. (The charter had originally been drawn up by Great Britain and the United States of America in 1941 as a "blueprint for future peace and security" and emphasized the maintenance of human rights.) The committee had to draw up a statement on the charter "from the standpoint of the Africans within the Union of South Africa" (called the *African Claims*), and draft a Bill of Rights. However, Molema also openly criticized the administrative and financial laxity within the ANC. In a memorandum which he wrote in 1943, he contended that at that time the ANC compared very badly with the organization 30 years earlier. Furthermore, he was exceptionally critical of the arrangements of ANC meetings, including those for the national annual congresses.

In December 1949 Molema was elected treasurer-general of the ANC and re-elected in December 1952. During the 1949 annual congress he took part in the finalization of the Programme of Action. As treasurer-general he also served as director of the Liberation Fund which had to collect funds for the campaign on 26 June 1950—National Day of Protest and Mourning. Molema himself donated £253 to the fund.

In January 1952 he opened the conference of the South African Indian Congress and was bitter in his criticism of the treatment of all blacks in South Africa, and called for unity among blacks. During the Defiance Campaign later in the same year Molema was one of those arrested. However, he was not brought to trial and some sources contend that it could be attributed to his earlier moderate and conciliatory attitude. Nonetheless, in 1953 the government served him with banning orders, which brought Molema's political career in South Africa to an end.

Molema continued to live in Mafeking. Though no longer politically active, as a leader of the Rolong on either side of the South African border, he still played a role in the government of Bechuanaland (Botswana). Amongst others he served on the constitutional committee which helped put that country on the road to independence.

Evaluations of Molema tend to be very critical. Some historians described him as "staid" and moderate, and that "... he was uninterested in, if not ignorant of ideologies". His successors were sometimes equally critical: A. Letele* who was appointed as treasurer-general of the ANC in 1955 "... found ... Molema's [accounts] in a terrible state". Nevertheless, Molema made an important contribution to the formulation and implementation of new strategies to thwart government policies, especially at the time of the revival of the ANC in the 1940s.

Besides his book already mentioned, Molema was the author of two books of a biographical nature: *Chief Moroka* (1951) and *Montshiwa, 1815-1896: Barolong chief and patriot* (1966). He also wrote a number of pamphlets. Before his death he was preparing the manuscript of the life and work of Solomon T. Plaatje*. He was an active churchgoer and a prominent member of the Wesleyan Methodist Church. He was fond of music and he took part in choir performances. Although he was relatively well off, he maintained a modest lifestyle.

Molema married Anna Moshoele in 1927. No children were born of this marriage. His second wife was Lucretia. The couple adopted a boy and a girl.

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MOLETSANE, Abraham Makgothi (Molitsane, Makhothi) (*Maloti 'a



Mohale, c.1788—†Makwais (Maboloka) Mountain near Mafeteng, Basutoland (Lesotho), 2 October 1885), a chief of the Taung, was the fourth son of Mophethe, chief of the third family of the second branch of the Taung, and Molihamme. Molihamme apparently left her husband's village, Motloangtloang (Matloangtloang), near the Sand River in the Orange Free State (OFS) to avoid any mishaps during her pregnancy and went to Maloti 'a Mohale. Sources, however, are not clear about the exact location of Maloti 'a Mohale. In infancy Moletsane was sent to an outlying cattle post to be reared by the San herders of his father who presented him with a girdle (*moletsane*). Thus he came to be called 'Moletsane' instead of 'Makgothi', his birth name. He was circumcised at Motloangtloang in 1803.

Moletsane married Mpai Mamoretlo, the daughter of Mokhele (also called Rampai) who was the chief of the second family of the second branch of the Taung, and the cousin of Mophete. When Mokhele could not control his sons and enemies, he requested Moletsane to come to his assistance. With the permission of Mophete, Moletsane took over the leadership of Mokhele's clan and punished Mokhele's sons and enemies.

Moletsane's next step was the unification of the tribe. He brought all the smaller clans that had broken away, back into the tribe. A clan of independent San was also subjected. As a result of his successful actions against the different clans and an increase in power, Moletsane gained recognition and considerable influence at Motloangtloang.

In 1822, during the *difaqane*, the Tlôkwa (Tlokoa) of Mmanthatisi* (Manthatisé or Mantatisi) who were living in and around the valley of the Wilge River in the OFS, were attacked by the Hlubi from across the Drakensberg who were fleeing before a stronger tribe. The Tlôkwa, in turn, fell upon weaker tribes in the same area. By 1823 the Taung under Moletsane had fled before the Tlôkwa to a place close to what is now Winburg in the OFS. However, Moletsane and his followers were forced to retreat over the Vaal River to the Molopo River where they hoped to find refuge with the Hurutshe tribe. The latter were, however, hostile because of recent attacks by Sefunêlô* (Sehunelo, Sifunelo or Sifinela), chief of the Seleka clan of the Rolong. This hostility resulted in a series of wars against them in which Moletsane's Taung almost annihilated them. Subsequently Sebetwane* (Sebetoane or Sebitwane), chief of the Patsa (Patswa) clan of the Fokeng tribe and married to a sister of Moletsane's wife Makhitsane, joined Moletsane. Together they attacked the Matabele under Mzilikazi*, as well as the Rolong. After the attack Moletsane and Sebetwane parted, Moletsane moving southwards across the Vaal River. On the way he was joined by many deserters and refugees. Fearing Mole-

tsane's increasing power, Sefunêlô attacked Moletsane who launched a counter-attack that destroyed the Wesleyan mission station at Matlwase (Makwassie) in April 1824. Sefunêlô fled to the north and when Moletsane pursued him, he requested Griqua horsemen under Barend Barends* to help him. This led to the so-called Battle of the Chiefs in August 1824, in which both Sefunêlô's brother and Moletsane's father were killed. Many of the women were captured and maltreated, including Mpai Mamoretlo, Moletsane's wife. Many Taung cattle were also captured. After the battle all parties left the area, the Taung moving back over the Vaal River.

Moletsane's previous military successes can be attributed to the Nguni fighting tactics and the short spear which his warriors used, but which were unknown to the Sotho. During the battle against the Barends contingent who were mounted and used guns, Moletsane had little chance of success.

The mistrust and hostility between Sefunêlô and Moletsane continued for the next few years, Sefunêlô requesting the Bergenaars on one occasion to help him against the Taung.

In 1827 Moletsane went to live south of the Vaal River and from there led several raids on Mzilikazi. The following year he attempted to subjugate Mzilikazi with the help of Jan Bloem Jr*. However, they were defeated and Moletsane had to retreat even further southwards to escape the Matabele's revenge. In 1829 he was defeated by the Matabele near what is today Brandfort. Moletsane and some of his subjects escaped and sought refuge with Adam Kok II* in Philippolis, a mission station situated north of the Orange River. (There are, however, also indications that Griqua were responsible for destroying Moletsane, stealing all the Taung cattle and forcing them to seek shelter with Kok.) The remainder of the Taung settled near a French missionary station Mekoatleng (near Clocolan), with the permission of Moshoeshoe I*.

In 1836 Samuel Rolland* gave Moletsane and about 150 of his followers permission to live on the mission station Beersheba (north of Smithfield and south of Wilgebosch Spruit on the Caledon River). A year later Moletsane moved to Mekoatleng to reunite with his followers who had settled there, as well as those who were still across the Orange or Vaal rivers, and eventually migrated back to the old Taung territory at the Sand River. However, the whites who had moved into the area prevented him from settling there. He therefore remained at Mekoatleng, with the permission of Moshoeshoe.

Moletsane became an ally of Moshoeshoe and played an important role as confidant and mainstay in the land conflict with the whites that followed. He seems to have retained freedom in his internal affairs but co-operated with Moshoeshoe in matters of foreign policy, such as the action taken by Moshoeshoe against Sekonyela*. In 1851 Moletsane defeated the British forces under Maj. T. Donovan at Viervoet (Kononyana). He fought against the Boers at, amongst others, Mabolela in 1865, and carried out several attacks in the Winburg district before and during the Second Basuto War (1865-1866). According to the peace treaty signed after the latter war, Moletsane and his followers, as all the tribes, were supposed to move beyond the new boundaries. Moletsane, however, ignored this stipulation and remained at Mekoatleng. The increasing frustration experienced by the whites came to a head when a few of

Moletsane's followers killed two OFS burghers in what is today the Ladybrand district in about June 1867. When Moshoeshoe refused to extradite the guilty men, the Boers attacked. This started the Third Basuto War (1867-1868). Moletsane, however, surrendered in September 1867 and swore allegiance to the OFS. In February 1869 he was one of Moshoeshoe's representatives at the Convention of Aliwal North where land disputes were discussed. Moletsane requested that the land he occupied around Mekoatlang be incorporated in Moshoeshoe's territory. His request was ignored. Instead, he was informed that Mekoatlang and three other French missionary stations would be closed down, which forced him and his followers to move to Basutoland south of where Mafeteng now stands. He objected to being moved to Makwais (Maboloka) Mountain in Basutoland, but eventually agreed to settle there. During the Gun War (1880-1881)—a campaign which followed the refusal of the Basuto to surrender their arms—he sided with the 'rebels' who refused to hand in their weapons.

Despite Moletsane's initial threats to attack the Rolong and his breach of promises to the missionaries not to attack the Rolong, and despite the destruction of the Wesleyan mission stations such as Matlwase (Makwassie), Mparane and Umpukane, Moletsane did finally become a Christian and was baptized in 1870—it is probably at this time that he received the name Abraham.

Moletsane was described as tall and of a light brown complexion. Although he was not a chief by right of birth, but became one by force of circumstances, he was described as an able and brave leader. He tried very hard to unify the Taung tribe not only before, but also during and after the *difaqane*. Moletsane's importance as historical figure lies to some extent in his exceptional ability to organize and lead his followers. Furthermore, with his return to Basutoland and his alliance with Moshoeshoe, Moletsane and his followers helped to establish the character of the Southern Sotho paramountcy.

It is said that Moletsane had about 33 wives and more than 115 children. His last wife was Sarah Mamae, who was to be his only wife after his conversion to Christianity and whom he married in church. He was succeeded by Mokhele, the son by his first wife Mpai Mamoretlo.

G.M. THEAL, *Basutoland records* ... 3 vols. Cape Town, 1883; — G.W. STOW, *The native races of South Africa*. London, 1905; — G. LAGDEN, *The Basutos*. 2 vols. London, 1909; — J.J.G. GROBBELAAR, *Die Vrystaatse Republiek en die Basoetovraagstuk. Archives yearbook of South African history*, 2(2), 1939; — G. TYLDEN, *The rise of the Basuto*. Cape Town, 1950; — J.C. MACGREGOR, *Basuto traditions*. Cape Town, 1957. (Willem Hiddingh Reprint Series, no. 12); — J.D. OMER-COOPER, *The Zulu aftermath: a nineteenth-century revolution in Bantu Africa*. London, 1966; — A.A. MOLETSANE, *An account of the autobiographical memoir*. [Cape Town], 1967; — E. BRADLOW, *The Cape government's rule of Basutoland, 1871-1883. Archives yearbook of South African history*, 31(2), 1968; — P. BECKER, *Hill of destiny: the life and times of Moshesh, founder of the Basuto*. London, 1969; — D.F. ELLENBERGER, *History of the Basuto, ancient and modern*. New York, 1969; — P. SANDERS, *Moshoeshoe, chief of the Sotho*. London, 1975; — L.M. THOMPSON, *Survival in two worlds: Moshoeshoe of Lesotho, 1786-1870*. Oxford, 1975; — W.F. LYE & C. MURRAY, *Transformations on the Highveld: the Tswana and Southern Sotho*. Cape Town, 1980.

MOORE, Philip Alan (*Peel, Isle of Man, United Kingdom, 24 November 1891—†Johannesburg, 26 November 1981), politician, soldier, educator and financier, was the son of James and Catherine Moore. He was educated at the Clothworkers School on the Isle of Man and at Liverpool University where he obtained the B.Sc. degree. (The spelling of Moore's first names varies.)



In 1913 Moore emigrated to South Africa and joined the Transvaal Education Department (TED). At the outbreak of World War I (1914–1918) Moore joined the Fourth South African Horse, became a mounted soldier and later transferred to the Eighth South African Infantry. During the East African

Campaign he was severely wounded and spent many months in hospital.

After his recovery Moore returned to the TED and, on medical advice, chose to teach on the platteland. After spells of teaching at, amongst others, Lydenburg, Middelburg, Belfast and Lichtenburg, he was appointed Inspector of Education in 1926. Eight years later Moore resigned from the TED over a dispute concerning compulsory mother tongue trends in education.

Moore thereafter joined a stock-broking firm. It was a fortuitous change, as the gold boom began shortly after his entrance into the financial world. He rose to the top of the stock-broking profession, becoming president of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange in 1946.

When the Second World War (1939–1945) broke out, Moore enlisted again and helped to establish Maintenance Command. He also served on the staff of the Military College and eventually became Officer Commanding of 75 Air School, Lyttelton, with the rank of major. For his part in training Greek pilots at Lyttelton he was awarded the Greek Order of George I With Swords.

Moore had a lengthy and distinguished career in politics. In 1937 he fought a parliamentary by-election at Yeoville when the seat was relinquished by Sir Patrick Duncan*. Standing on a Dominion Party ticket, Moore lost by a mere 76 votes to Maldwyn Edmund of the United Party (UP). In the 1938 general election Moore was defeated as a Dominion Party candidate in the Orange Grove constituency, losing to the UP's Colin Bain-Marais. When the Dominion Party failed to draw closer to the UP after the outbreak of war and merge with it, Moore resigned and joined the UP. His fight for a parliamentary seat was finally rewarded when he was elected unopposed as UP member of parliament for Kensington in a by-election in 1949. He was to retain this seat for the next 21 years.

Moore was an outstanding parliamentarian. His repartee and humour enlivened many a dreary debate, while his versatility and wisdom were acknowledged and admired on both sides of the House of Assembly. As a UP frontbencher Moore made many incisive speeches on finance, education, defence, posts and telegraphs, and other subjects. As chairperson of the UP Education Group and as a member of the Commission on the Separate University Education Bill (known as the Holloway Commission) Moore played

a major role in the Witwatersrand University Amendment Bill (the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, (Private) Act no. 15 of 1959), which *inter alia* enabled the university authorities to allow blacks to enrol as students. But it is for his dogged campaign for a switch to the decimal currency that Moore will be remembered.

What was first a lonely campaign in the House of Assembly began with Moore's private member's motion in 1956 for the adoption of the decimal coinage system. He suggested that the principal monetary unit in the system be the rand—a word which existed in both English and Afrikaans. Moore's motion was not accepted but he refused to give up. He continued with his campaign until, finally, the government introduced a decimal coinage bill of its own, and rands and cents eventually replaced the imperial system.

Moore proposed the term 'rand' and also suggested the spelling and the pronunciation of the new currency. He was particularly concerned that the plural of 'rand' should be 'rands', as the plural of 'pound' had been 'pounds'. The government took heed of Moore's advice and when the South African Mint and Coinage Amendment Bill of 1966 appeared, the 's' which had been omitted from all previously printed legislation, was included, much to Moore's jubilation. Moore was therefore in a true sense the 'father' of the South African decimal system.

A man of great eloquence and intellect, Moore retained an interest in public affairs to the end of his days. He was survived by two daughters and a son; his wife, formerly Miss Beyers of Stellenbosch, predeceased him in 1948 and his eldest son had been killed with the South African Air Force in Italy during World War II.

Master of the Supreme Court, Pretoria: Estate no. 16240/81; Library of the University of South Africa, Pretoria: P.A. Moore collection; — Obituary: *The Argus*, 30 November 1981.

MOROKA, James Sebe (*Thaba Nchu, Orange Free State (OFS), 16 March 1892—†Thaba Nchu, Bophuthatswana (OFS), 10 November 1985), medical doctor, politician and landowner. He was a great-grandson of Chief Moroka of Thaba Nchu who assisted the Voortrekkers in the 1830s, and a member of the prominent landholding Rolong family.



Moroka attended the village school and completed his primary education in 1909. Thereafter he went to Lovedale Institute at Alice in the Eastern Cape for secondary education. Subsequently he went to the University of Edinburgh in Scotland in 1911 to study medicine and qualified in 1918. After his return to South Africa he established a flourishing practice in Thaba Nchu, with blacks and whites consulting him. Moroka also helped to provide the land for the Moroka Missionary Hospital (Moroka Community Hospital) in Thaba Nchu which was the only training hospital for

Africans in the OFS. In 1930 he studied surgery in Vienna, Austria. However, when he returned to South Africa he was prevented by the colour bar from using the only available operating facilities in the hospital in Bloemfontein.

His political career started in the 1930s when he became involved with widespread black resistance against the so-called J.B.M. Hertzog* Draft Bills—the Natives' Trust and Land Bill that affected ownership of land outside the reserves, and the Representation of Natives Bill that dealt with the removal of the Cape black voters from the common voters' roll. In opposition to this legislation the All-African Convention (AAC) was formed and in December 1935 Moroka attended the first meeting in Bloemfontein. He was elected as treasurer of the AAC as well as a member of the delegation which, in 1936, conveyed to the government the attitude of Africans regarding the draft bills. In spite of Moroka's unyielding criticism of this legislation he made himself available for the Native Representative Council (NRC) which was formed as a result of this legislation. He was elected for two terms—1942 and 1948. With this he distanced himself from the official AAC policy but according to his own testimony his aim was to show from within the NRC that it was a nonsensical institution. In 1946 he played a leading role in the NRC's confrontation with the government which brought the council's activities to an end although he only resigned his seat in 1950.

In 1942 Moroka became involved with the African National Congress (ANC). In 1943 he was a member of the Atlantic Charter Committee of the ANC which had to study and discuss problems arising out of the Atlantic Charter in so far as it related to Africa. (The charter had originally been drawn up by Great Britain and the United States of America in 1941 as a "blueprint for future peace and security" and emphasized the maintenance of human rights.) The committee had to draw up a statement on the charter "from the standpoint of the Africans within the Union of South Africa" (called the *African Claims*), and draft a Bill of Rights. In 1948 Moroka was the AAC representative during reconciliatory talks between the AAC and the ANC. The talks failed.

In a surprising move—since Moroka was not a member of the ANC at the time—he was chosen as president-general of the ANC in December 1949. He was the candidate of the ANC Youth League (CYL), who hoped that he would be more effective than the previous president-general, A.B. Xuma*. Moroka found it difficult during his three-year term as ANC leader to exercise firm control over the organization, chiefly because he still lived in Thaba Nchu which was outside the central political arena of the Witwatersrand. He did, however, take the lead in establishing a hitherto unknown militant spirit in the ANC and did not hesitate to work with other militant organizations such as the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA, South African Communist Party (SACP) after 1953) and the South African Indian Congress (SAIC) against government policy.

Moroka's lack of understanding of the political playing field in the Transvaal often led to blunders and criticism. Many of his actions were described as naive and short-sighted and even contributed to dissension within the ANC. In reaction to the banning of some of its members, the CPSA

arranged the Defend Free Speech Convention in March 1950. Moroka agreed to preside over the convention. Though he claimed that he did this in a private capacity and not as president-general of the ANC, he committed the ANC to the militant demands which were adopted, including the stayaway on 1 May.

In February 1951 Moroka represented the ANC at the founding of the Franchise Action Council, chiefly a coloured organization that was formed to prevent the removal of coloured people from the Cape common voters' roll. From July 1951 he was closely involved with preparations for the Defiance Campaign which was organized by the ANC and the SAIC. The campaign was an attempt by opponents of apartheid to overburden law enforcers by contravening all discriminatory legislation, in the hope that the legislation might be abolished. Moroka was chairperson of the Joint Planning Board, he addressed numerous meetings and, in a letter, requested Prime Minister D.F. Malan* to revoke the laws involved. During the campaign itself he was taken into custody and charged with contraventions of the Suppression of Communism Act. In spite of the instruction of the organizers of the Defiance Campaign that offenders had to serve their prison sentence, Moroka, after being found guilty, put in a plea for mitigation of sentence and dissociated himself from his co-accused. This brought about the displeasure of his ANC colleagues and his ousting as leader of the ANC; in December 1952 he was not re-elected as president-general. With this his political career came to an end.

At the time of his death he was married to Maggie, who helped him to develop the farms he had inherited and acquired from his relatives in Thaba Nchu. He also had extended business interests on the Witwatersrand, such as shops and an insurance company which he managed. He fathered ten children.

Moroka was buried on his farm Mafane near Thaba Nchu.

Library of the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg: Xuma collection; — Republic of Bophuthatswana. Department of Internal Affairs, Births Marriages and Deaths: Death Register no. K/85/582; — T.D.M. SKOTA (ed.), *The African yearly register, being an illustrated national biographical dictionary (who's who) of black folks in Africa*. Johannesburg, [1931]; — L. KUPER, *Passive resistance in South Africa*. London, 1956; — C.M. DE VILLIERS, *Die African National Congress en sy aktiwiteite aan die Witwatersrand, 1912-1956*. M.A. thesis. University of Pretoria, 1965; — P. WALSH, *The rise of African Nationalism in South Africa: the African National Congress, 1912-1952*. London, 1970; — T. KARIS & G.M. CARTER (eds), *From protest to challenge: a documentary history of African politics in South Africa, 1882-1964*. 2. *Hope and challenge, 1935-1952*. Stanford, 1973; — T. KARIS & G.M. CARTER (eds), *From protest to challenge: a documentary history of African politics in South Africa, 1882-1964*. 4. *Political profiles, 1882-1964*. Stanford, 1977; — T. LODGE, *Black politics in South Africa since 1945*. Johannesburg, 1983; — M. BENSON, *South Africa: the struggle for a birthright*. London, 1985; — *Makers of modern Africa: profiles in history*. 2nd ed. London, 1991; — Private information: Gran Moroka (grandson), Seloshesha.

MOSAKA, Paul Ramotsoane (*Johannesburg, c.1911—†Manzini, Swaziland, 25 April 1963), politician, founder of the African Democratic Party (ADP), and an influential and notorious businessman. He received his early education in Johannesburg but his secondary education at Healdtown Institution, a Methodist boarding school near Fort Beaufort in the Eastern Cape. After that



he went to the South African Native College (University of Fort Hare) at Fort Hare where he became the first Transvaal African to acquire the B.A. degree from a South African university. For some years he was a teacher at Healdtown and Thaba Nchu before he returned to Johannesburg to manage a business belonging to J.S. Moroka*. He also launched his own commercial undertakings, *inter alia* retail businesses, an undertaker's business and an insurance company.

As a student Mosaka already showed an interest in politics when he took part in the Transvaal African Student's Association. In 1942 he became the youngest member elected to the Native Representative Council (NRC). During 1942, already sitting on the NRC, he made an impression with his powerful speeches and played a prominent role in the final break between the NRC and the government at the time of the African miners' strike of August 1946. At the time his comparison of the NRC with a toy telephone created a big commotion.

For Mosaka the period 1943-1946 bustled with political activity. In 1943 he was a member of the Atlantic Charter Committee of the ANC which had to study and discuss problems arising out of the Atlantic Charter in so far as it related to Africa. (The charter had originally been drawn up by Great Britain and the United States of America in 1941 as a "blueprint for future peace and security" and emphasized the maintenance of human rights.) The committee had to draw up a statement on the charter "from the standpoint of the Africans within the Union of South Africa" (called the *African Claims*), and draft a Bill of Rights. From 1943 to 1944 he was a member of the Emergency Transport Committee which gave assistance to the boycotters during the bus boycott by residents of the Alexandra township north of Johannesburg. Mosaka's involvement with this led to his arrest. In 1944-1945 he took part in the rallies of the Campaign for Right and Justice, an organization in which whites played a leading role (chiefly English speakers with leftist views). During the same years he was involved with the Anti-Pass Campaign of the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA, South African Communist Party (SACP) after 1953) and the ANC.

In 1943 Mosaka's dynamic nature drove him to strike out his own political direction. He began to despair of the effectiveness of the relatively moderate ANC and on 26 September 1943, in conjunction with Senator Hyman Basner, established the ADP with the same goals as the ANC but committed to a more determined organization of 'mass support' and co-operation with progressive whites. Although Mosaka intended the ADP to become an organization affiliated to the ANC, A.B. Xuma* and many of the African nationalists interpreted Mosaka's breaking away as a treacherous step, weakening the ANC. Mosaka was thus forced to go his own way. In 1944-1945 he and the ADP, as allies of James Mpanza*, took part in the squatter conflict southwest of Johannesburg. In October 1946 Mosaka was the delegate of the ADP (which at that time was disappearing from the political scene with the revival of the

ANC) at a meeting where a last unavailing attempt was made to end the discord between the ANC and the All-African Convention (AAC). This was the last time that Mosaka was involved in any important event in the mainstream of African politics in South Africa.

From the 1950s Mosaka's attention was increasingly focused on his flourishing business interests. His name was seldom heard in connection with political events. In 1955 he was one of the more conservative personalities who fiercely criticized the school boycott which the ANC staged against the institution of the Bantu Education Act of 1953. In October 1956 he attended the conference which was arranged by the Interdenominational African Ministers' Federation to discuss the Tomlinson Report (*Report of the Commission for the Socio-Economic Development of the Bantu Areas*). The conference rejected the report unanimously. In December 1960 he was present at the consultative conference in Orlando, Johannesburg, which was arranged by ANC leaders in their personal capacity to discuss the circumstances of Africans in South Africa in view of the banning of the ANC and the Pan-Africanist Congress, and the forthcoming establishment of the Republic of South Africa. The conference decided to arrange an 'all-in' conference representative of African people at which a national convention representative of all South Africa's people would be demanded. Mosaka was elected to the continuation committee which had to organize the 'all-in' conference. However, he did not attend any of the committee meetings and resigned in February 1961 on account of ill health—he suffered from diabetes. Nevertheless he was arrested in March 1961—the 'All-in' African Conference took place in Pietermaritzburg in March 1961—together with the other committee members, but he successfully appealed against the prison sentence imposed upon him.

At the end of his life, although his political role was played out, Mosaka was an economic leader of high standing in the African community. From 1955 he was president of the Johannesburg Black Chamber of Commerce. He was also a member of the board of the Donaldson Trust and a member of the South African Institute of Race Relations.

Mosaka married Miriam Francis Ncamziwe Mosaka (nee Piliso) in 1940. They had four children. He died while on a business trip to Swaziland.

Transvaal Archives, Pretoria: Estate no. 3378/63; — Library of the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg: Xuma collection; — T.D.M. SKOTA (ed.), *The African who's who: an illustrated classified register and national biographical dictionary of the Africans in the Transvaal*. 3rd ed., rev. & enl. [Johannesburg, 1965]; — C.M. DE VILLIERS, *Die African National Congress en sy aktiwiteite aan die Witwatersrand, 1912-1956*. M.A. thesis. University of Pretoria, 1965; — P. WALSH, *The rise of African Nationalism in South Africa: the African National Congress, 1912-1952*. London, 1970; — T. KARIS & G.M. CARTER (eds), *From protest to challenge: a documentary history of African politics in South Africa, 1882-1964*. 2. *Hope and challenge, 1935-1952*. Stanford, 1973; — T. KARIS & G.M. CARTER (eds), *From protest to challenge: a documentary history of African politics in South Africa, 1882-1964*. 3. *Challenge and violence, 1953-1964*. Stanford, 1977; — T. KARIS & G.M. CARTER (eds), *From protest to challenge: a documentary history of African politics in South Africa, 1882-1964*. 4. *Political profiles, 1882-1964*. Stanford, 1977; — M. BENSON, *South Africa: the struggle for a birthright*. London, 1985; — B. HIRSON, *Yours for the Union: class and community struggles in South Africa, 1930-1947*. Johannesburg, 1990.

MPANZA, James (Sofasonke) (*Georgedale, today part of Cato Ridge, 15 May 1889—†Johannesburg, 23 September 1970), politician and founder of the Sofasonke Party, and a crusader for better housing for Johannesburg's Africans, sometimes referred to as "the man who founded Soweto". He was the second son of Ventile Mbihlana Mpanza, a transport haulier who drove ox-wagons from town to town, and his wife Evelyn. Mpanza grew up with his two sisters—his brother having died in youth. He attended the local Georgedale Primary School where he stayed on until Standard 6. He trained as a teacher at Indaleni (Natal) where he passed a third-class teacher's certificate examination. At the age of eighteen he started



working as an interpreter and clerk in a solicitor's office at Camperdown near Georgedale.

In 1912 he was imprisoned for fraud, and in April 1915 sentenced to death for the murder of an Indian shopkeeper named Adam at Georgedale. While spending six months in the death cell in Pietermaritzburg, Mpanza fought for an appeal, arguing that he had not actually been seen at the scene of the crime. His sentence was then commuted to life imprisonment.

Mpanza was moved from prison to prison, becoming a hardened troublesome prisoner that attacked warders. It was in 1918 in the Cinderella Prison in Boksburg, where he was isolated for six months, that his life changed. He claimed to have had a Christian conversion, and he became a preacher to his fellow prisoners. In 1924, in the Pretoria Prison, he assumed the new role of author when he wrote his book *Izimpi zendlela yomkrestu* (translated in 1936 as *The battles of the Christian's pathways*).

In 1925 the Prince of Wales paid an official visit to the Union of South Africa, and to mark the occasion amnesty was granted to many prisoners. Mpanza's life imprisonment was commuted to fifteen years, but after thirteen years he was discharged on a two-year parole in 1927. He was placed with a Swiss mission in Pretoria. He also served as an evangelist under the Rev. P. Dourquin, preaching to that congregation at weekends for three years. By 1934 he had moved to Johannesburg where he was a teacher, and then worked as a furniture salesman and a commercial photographer.

Mpanza moved to Orlando township in the 1930s and in 1936 he was elected to the Orlando Advisory Board.

With the increased urbanization of Africans during the Second World War (1939–1945) the housing shortage in Johannesburg became critical. Having failed to elicit sympathy from the Johannesburg City Council Mpanza decided to take dramatic steps to bring the housing problem to the attention of the authorities. In March 1944 he led thousands of Africans, overflowing from the slums of Orlando, to set up a shantytown on vacant municipal land in the area stretching from the present Orlando Stadium to Shanty Clinic. Mpanza's slogan 'Sofasonke' (We shall all die) became his nickname. The shantytown was called Sofasonke Township.

By the first week of April 1944, 8 000 people occupied the shantytown. By the end of 1946 its population had risen to 20 000, and Mpanza had proclaimed himself the unofficial 'mayor'. Each family had to pay six shillings to join his squatter camp, and a further 2s 6d for a site. An additional 2s 6d per week was paid for the day-to-day administration of the camp. This was an *imperium in imperio*, where Mpanza even started his own police force which saw to law and order. Health and welfare services, however, were nonexistent. People lived in appalling conditions in the Sofasonke Township, and many children died as a result of lack of medical care. Mpanza's own son Dumisani was among the victims.

At this time Mpanza formed the Sofasonke Party which he built into a cultlike organization for contesting seats on the Orlando Advisory Board—and a party which more than 20 years after his death was still a force to be reckoned with within local municipal politics. Through his party Mpanza urged the Johannesburg City Council not to eject the squatter camps around Orlando but to find alternative accommodation for the squatters.

Mpanza's crusade for better housing for Africans led to his deportation to Natal by government order in February 1946; he was ordered to leave for a farm at Ixopo in Natal within three days. He defied the order and a legal wrangle began. He was eventually placed under police escort on a train to Ixopo. His senior counsel made an urgent court application and while the train carrying him was in Standerton, near the Transvaal-Natal border, the Rand Supreme Court ordered the authorities to return him to Johannesburg immediately.

In the same year Mpanza's efforts were rewarded when the Johannesburg City Council began to embark on its massive housing scheme, which led to the birth of Soweto (South Western Townships). With this rehousing scheme his prominence waned somewhat although he remained a well-known leader. Mpanza was continuously re-elected as member of the Orlando East Advisory Board until the establishment of the Soweto Urban Bantu Council (UBC). He strongly supported the creation of the UBC in the early 1960s.

Mpanza was described as a fearless and dynamic, if somewhat controversial, leader and a crusader for better housing for Johannesburg's Africans. He welcomed Western civilization so long as it did not interfere with the African tradition. Mpanza was a horse-racing enthusiast and owned thoroughbreds in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State which had to be ridden by white jockeys because of the racial policy.

He was also a man of discipline who conducted special courts—also called Parents Courts—in the backyard of his Orlando East home. These courts dealt with domestic cases such as assault of parents by their wayward children for which he administered corporal punishment, while serious cases were referred to the police. It would seem that the subsequent Makgotla (traditional courts) in Soweto were an adaption of Mpanza's Parents Courts.

In 1939 Mpanza married Julia Mngomezulu. Three sons and three daughters were born of the marriage. Mpanza died at his Orlando East home which is still the residence of the Mpanza family. He was given a rousing civic funeral service, and was buried at the Doornkop Cemetery.

Mpanza v. Rex, 1915 April 1, 19. *Natal law reports*, 36, 1915; — J. MPANZA, *The battles of the Christian's pathways*. (S.I.), 1936; — M. BENSON, *The African patriots*. Chicago, 1963; — T.D.M. SKOTA (ed.), *The African who's who: an illustrated classified register and national biographical dictionary of the Africans in the Transvaal*. 3rd ed., rev. & enl. [Johannesburg, 1965]; — Obituaries: *The Star*, 5 October 1970; *The Rand Daily Mail*, 24 & 26 September 1970; — T. KARIS & G.M. CARTER (eds), *From protest to challenge: a documentary history of African politics in South Africa, 1882-1964. 4. Political profiles, 1882-1964*. Stanford, 1977; — *The Daily News*, 7 December 1978; — J. JOHNSON & P. MAGUBANE, *Soweto speaks*. Johannesburg, 1979; — K.J. FRENCH, *James Mpanza and the Sofasonke Party in the development of local politics in Soweto*. M.A. thesis. University of the Witwatersrand, 1983; — *The Sowetan*, 23 March 1983; — J.R.A. BAILEY, *Profiles of Africa*. Johannesburg, 1983; — J. SCHADEBERG (comp. & ed.), *The fifties people of South Africa*. [S.I.], 1987; — P. LA HAUSSE, *Brewers, beerhalls and boycotts*. Johannesburg, 1988; — READER'S DIGEST ASSOCIATION SOUTH AFRICA, *Illustrated history of South Africa: the real story*. Cape Town, 1988; — *Weekly Mail*, 27 May to 2 June 1988; — Private information: W.J.P. Carr (ex-manager, Non-European Affairs Department, City Council of Johannesburg), Johannesburg; Ms Queen Mpanza (daughter), Soweto, Johannesburg; Ms Elizabeth Mpanza (daughter), Soweto, Johannesburg.

MSIMANG, Henry Selby (*Edendale, Pietermaritzburg, 13 December 1886—†Edendale, Pietermaritzburg, 29 March 1982), interpreter, clerk, journalist, farm manager, and especially politician. He and his elder brother Richard Msimang were the children of the well-known African preacher who founded the Independent Methodist Church, Joel Msimang, and his wife Joanh Radebe.



Msimang received his primary education at the Emakosini Primary School in Nhlngano, Swaziland. Between 1903 and 1907 he studied first at Kilnerton Institution, a Methodist college in Pretoria, then Edendale Institution at Edendale, and finally at Healdtown Institution, a Methodist boarding school

near Fort Beaufort in the Eastern Cape. Though he was then a qualified teacher, he never taught. His career started in 1908 when he was appointed as interpreter in Germiston, Transvaal. He never stayed in any career for long but kept changing jobs and homes. Between 1908 and 1965 he had fifteen occupations and lived in ten towns or cities in three provinces (the Transvaal, the Orange Free State and Natal). From 1942, however, he settled in Edendale near Pietermaritzburg.

His political career started in 1912 when he was a founder member of the South African Native National Congress (SANNC, African National Congress (ANC) after 1923). During the following 30 years he participated in a number of their meetings, deputations and other activities. For many years he undertook the labour portfolio of the congress, and was a prominent member of the committee established to raise funds to send a deputation to Britain to try to have the Natives Land Act of 1913 repealed.

In Bloemfontein, in 1917, he was the editor of a newspaper *Morumioa-*

Inxusa (Messenger) (the title of the newspaper varied) which only existed for two years. (It could not be established if a connection existed between this newspaper and the one with which D.S. Letanka* was involved in 1911, i.e. *Moromiaoa*.) During his stay in Bloemfontein (1917-1922) his long relationship with the labour movement started when, as a labour organizer, he led a strike of municipal workers in Bloemfontein in 1917, for which he was arrested and detained. In 1919 he liaised with Clements Kadalie*, founder of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU), about the organization of African workers. Together they planned the establishment of a national ICU and in 1920 held a meeting in Bloemfontein with this in mind. Msimang was elected president of the national ICU. When Kadalie failed to be elected to the executive he withdrew with his supporters. This led to increasing animosity between Msimang and Kadalie, resulting in Msimang's resignation as president and distancing himself from the ICU until after Kadalie's resignation in 1929. Msimang then rejoined and during the decline of the ICU he held the post of national propagandist. From 1928 to 1937 Msimang was a labour advisor in Johannesburg.

In 1922 Msimang returned to Johannesburg and became a member of the Joint Council for Europeans and Bantu. He was still involved in the activities of the SANNC/ANC and served on the national executive committee of the ANC during the terms of office of presidents J.T. Gumede* (1927-1930) and Pixley Seme (1930-1937). In 1932 he was a member of the so-called revival committee that wanted to strengthen the organization from within to prevent its stagnation. Three years later, during the first meeting of the All-African Convention (AAC) in Bloemfontein in December 1935, he was elected as secretary.

In 1942 he returned to Natal and was elected provincial secretary of the Natal branch of the ANC, a position he retained until 1956. He was also a confidant of the Natal leader A.W.G. Champion*. In 1948 he became a member of the Native Representative Council (NRC) although at that time it was no longer an active body. In December of the same year he attended the discussions with the AAC as delegate of the ANC during an unsuccessful attempt to reconcile these two organizations. During the annual congress of the ANC of that year Msimang was elected to the committee which had to draw up the Programme of Action. Early in 1949 he represented the ANC in discussions with prominent Indian leaders in an effort to reconcile Africans and Indians after bloody clashes between them in Durban and surrounding areas in January 1949. A year later Msimang and Champion's political ways parted and Msimang lost his position in the ANC. However, when Albert Luthuli* defeated Champion as president of the ANC in 1951, Msimang was reinstated as provincial secretary. But he lost interest in the ANC and even before the Defiance Campaign of 1952 he resigned as provincial secretary in Natal.

In 1953 Msimang became a founder member of the multiracial Liberal Party of South Africa. From 1956-1968 he served on the executive committee and in due course became the national vice-chairperson. His activities were, however, hampered in 1965 when the government forbade him to attend meetings for five years.

Msimang was also interested and active in local politics and problems. For

many years from 1942 he was secretary of the Edendale Advisory Board Local Health Commission. He was the founder of the Edendale Benevolent Society and served as its secretary from 1946 to 1952, and from 1967 as honorary life president. In 1973 he was elected secretary of the Edendale AmaKholwa Tribe. In 1975 Msimang became a member of the national council of the Inkatha yeNkululeko yeSizwe. From 1974 to 1975 he served on the executive committee of the South African Institute of Race Relations. He was a Methodist and served in various committees of the church.

Msimang was a prolific author. Apart from numerous newspaper articles, including series of articles in several newspapers, he published a pamphlet *The crisis* (Johannesburg, 1936) about the effect of the 1936 Land Act on Africans.

He was married twice and had four sons and four daughters. His first wife was Mercy Mahlomola King whom he married in July 1913. She died in September 1951, and in August 1952 he married Miriam Primrose Oldjohn.

Library of the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg: Xuma collection; — T.D.M. SKOTA (ed.), *The African who's who: an illustrated classified register and national biographical dictionary of the Africans in the Transvaal*. 3rd ed., rev. & enl. [Johannesburg, 1965]; — C.M. DE VILLIERS, *Die African National Congress en sy aktiwiteite aan die Witwatersrand, 1912-1956*. M.A. thesis. University of Pretoria, 1965; — P. WALSH, *The rise of African Nationalism in South Africa: the African National Congress, 1912-1952*. London, 1970; — T. KARIS & G.M. CARTER (eds), *From protest to challenge: a documentary history of African politics in South Africa, 1882-1964*. 4 vols. Stanford, 1972-1977; — D.S. DEANE, *Black South Africans: a who's who. 57 profiles of Natal's leading blacks*. Cape Town, 1978; — S. KEEBLE, (comp. & ed.), *The black who's who of Southern Africa today*. Johannesburg, 1979; — P.L. WICKENS, *The Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of Africa*. Cape Town, 1979; — Tribute: Henry Selby Msimang. *Natalia*, (12), December 1982.

MULLER, Elizabeth (Elise) (*Ceres, 11 March 1919—†Cape Town, 5 November 1985), Afrikaans author and editorial head of a publisher, was the eldest of the six children of Rev. Cornelis Muller and his wife Christina Elizabeth Maria du Toit.



Muller matriculated at Calvinia and obtained the Primary Teacher's Certificate at the Paarl Training College in 1938. In 1939 she enrolled for the B.A. degree at the University of Stellenbosch. Early in her first year she became seriously ill with tuberculosis and was forced to return to Calvinia where her mother took care of the invalid Muller for eleven years.

The many years of retirement caused by her protracted illness acted as impetus for Muller to start writing. She started her career as author with a novel competition entry *Ek, 'n Samaritaanse vrou* (1941) and won the prize money of £100. This debut was followed by *Die pad verder* (1943), *Maar die jare antwoord* (1947) and a youth novel *Skat van die Roggeveld* (1950).

It meant much to Muller during these years that she could earn money with

her writing—it gave her some independence. Although her early books received a fair degree of negative literary criticism, Muller proved her ability as narrator and as creator of a convincing milieu, as well as her knowledge of people. In all of these early works she showed her control of the sober descriptive word.

In 1950 Muller decided to undergo a drastic operation in Cape Town: the removal of one lung. This operation saved her life. Her health improved surprisingly well and within a few months she was able to write again. She regularly wrote short stories and serials for the magazine *Sarie Marais*. The serials *Die derde rit*, *Die eensames* and *Die wilde loot* later appeared in book form.

In 1956 a selection of Muller's short stories was published by A.A. Balkema under the title *Die vrou op die skuit*, the manuscript having been rejected by two other publishers. In 1957 *Die vrou op die skuit* received the Hertzog prize for prose, awarded by the Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns (South African Academy for Arts and Science). It was the first time that the Hertzog prize was awarded for short stories. The literary commission based its recommendation especially on the stories 'Nag by die drif', 'Kinders in die skemer', 'Twee gesigte', 'Die dieper dors' and 'Blommetjies vir Bella'. The commission was of the opinion that these were stories of special quality, carefully constructed, testifying to great insight and subtly giving the reader insight into the hidden forces operating in every person; the stories spoke a universal language and counted among the best that Afrikaans prose could offer. Another attribute was the natural, sober and clear prose.

After the surprising success with *Die vrou op die skuit* other publications followed: *Van eensame mense* (1956), *Die wilde loot* (1962), and *Die derde rit* (1978). The relation between the characters and their environment was of crucial importance in the development of the characters in Muller's short stories and novels. The supreme example was the novel *Van eensame mense* in which the main character saw herself as the daughter of a hard, unrelenting region. The other characters in the novel also reflected the influence of the region on their lives. This novel was highly regarded because of the sober portrayal of the main character's inner life. *Van eensame mense* was made into a television script and broadcast by the South African Broadcasting Corporation in 1978.

Die wilde loot was on the one hand a study of human relations, especially the relationship between two sisters within a wider family context, and on the other hand an exposé of human judgement and the difficult maturing of insight. Stylistically this novel was an outstanding example of Muller's sober narration. It was also adapted for television and broadcast in 1979.

J.C. Kannemeyer rediscovered *Die derde rit*, which was originally published as a serial in *Sarie Marais*, and through him it was subsequently published in book form. It was notable for its epic development, striking scenes, characterization and the relationships between the characters.

Six years after the operation which helped her to lead a normal life again, Muller accepted a post as member of the editorial staff of the NG Kerkuitgewers (Dutch Reformed Church publishers) and moved to Cape Town. She was

a deeply religious Christian and accepted this appointment as an order from God. For 22 years she was editorial head of NG Kerkgewere and this work was always more important to her than her own writing. She regarded it as her purpose in life to convey the gospel to the Afrikaans-speaking reader by means of the Christian book. Her fine judgement and writing experience enabled her to leave a permanent imprint on the Christian publications under her care.

In 1978 she was compelled by poor health to retire as editorial head. Her last writing was a tribute to the publisher A.A. Balkema for the book *Liber amicorum pro A.A. Balkema* which was compiled and published by the Friends of the South African Library. In her tribute she related with appreciation that Balkema's decision to publish her short stories had an immeasurable influence on her life.

She spent the last years of her life in the Strand.

There can be no doubt that Muller's special narrative skill and the power of her sober prose made a decisive and permanent contribution to Afrikaans prose.

P.J. NIENABER, *Die Hertzogprys vyftig jaar: 'n feesbundel*. Kaapstad, 1965; — M. HEESE, *Die wilde loot. Die vrou op die skuit*. Kaapstad, 1976 (Blokboeke, 21); — T.T. CLOETE (red.), *Die Afrikaanse literatuur sedert sestig*. Kaapstad, 1980; — E.S. NEL, *Die prosa van Elise Muller*. M.A. thesis. University of Stellenbosch, 1981; — J.C. KANNEMEYER, *Geskiedenis van die Afrikaanse literatuur, II*. Pretoria, 1983; — Obituary: *Die Burger*, 6 November 1985; — J.C. KANNEMEYER, *Die Afrikaanse literatuur, 1652-1987*. Kaapstad, 1988; — H. AUCAMP (samest.), *Verhale en essays, 1942-1981*. Kaapstad, 1989; — Private information: Personal interviews with Muller; Rev. W. van Zyl (colleague & manager of NG Kerkgewere, Cape Town).

MVABAZA, Thomas Levi (fl. 1910-1947), prominent journalist, businessman and politician. He was born at Peddie near Grahamstown and received his education at St Matthew's College (Assamoah Kwame St Matthew's High School) at Keiskammahock and Zonnebloem College in Cape Town. After that he worked in Port Elizabeth before he moved to Johannesburg, where he and Saul Msane established an English-Xhosa weekly called *Umlomo wa Bantu* (Mouthpiece of the Nation) in 1910, and became its editors. They described its objective as "the unifying of all African tribes into one people, and to improve and expedite the education of the African children". In Johannesburg he also joined the Transvaal Native



Organization.

In 1911 Mvabaza attended some of the executive committee meetings of the South African Native Convention (SANC). The discussions dealt chiefly with a constitution for the SANC and the establishment of a national newspaper to serve as the SANC official mouthpiece. At one of those meetings Mvabaza was nominated to a committee which had to attempt to solve the organizational

discord between politically conscious Africans in the Transvaal. After reconciliation was achieved the Transvaal Native Congress (TNC) was formed.

Mvabaza then became a prominent figure in the founding of the South African Native National Congress (SANNC, African National Congress (ANC) after 1923) which superseded the SANC. In 1912 he attended the inaugural meeting of the SANNC in Bloemfontein, and delivered one of the speeches on the programme. After the meeting *Umlomo wa Bantu* and some of the other newspapers amalgamated to form *Abantu Batho*, which became the official mouthpiece of the SANNC. Mvabaza was the co-editor and later became managing director of the company which was formed to publish this newspaper.

During the first annual SANNC conference in March 1913 Mvabaza was elected to a deputation which left immediately for Cape Town to convey to the government the SANNC's opposition to the draft bill of the Natives Land Act of 1913. The deputation could not convince the Minister of Native Affairs, Louis Botha* (who was also Prime Minister at the time), to accept their point of view. Shortly after the outbreak of the First World War (1914–1918) Mvabaza was again a member of an SANNC deputation—this time to Pretoria to assure the government of the SANNC's support for the war effort.

In June 1918, after the criminal prosecution of the Johannesburg African sanitary workers who took part in the so-called Bucket Strike, Mvabaza plus virtually all the prominent leaders of the TNC initiated a campaign for their release. Mvabaza and four other congress members were arrested for inciting the workers, but since the court found that they exerted a moderating influence on the strikers, the case against them was dropped. After that Mvabaza became involved in the upsurge of dissatisfaction among the Africans on the Witwatersrand. He took the lead in the preparations for a general strike of African workers. He now came to the fore as one of the more radical leaders of the TNC. His pronouncements at meetings during this time show that he was influenced by the International Socialist League whose meetings he had attended since the end of 1917. In the end there was no strike, partly due to police action that forced workers to return to work, and partly because of the Great Influenza Epidemic of 1918 which led to the hospitalization and death of many South Africans.

In 1919 Mvabaza was a member of the SANNC deputation to the Versailles Peace Conference and the British government. The aim was to obtain a better dispensation for Africans in South Africa. The deputation was unsuccessful. Before the end of 1919 Mvabaza was back in South Africa and actively involved in local politics. In 1921 he was elected as assistant treasurer of the TNC. Z.R. Mahabane*, who was president-general of the ANC from 1924 to 1927, admitted Mvabaza to his 'cabinet' as Minister of Land and Locations. When Pixley Seme was appointed president-general of the ANC in 1930 he again appointed Mvabaza to his cabinet. In 1932 Mvabaza became a member of the ANC's 'revival committee' which had to raise the ANC out of its lethargic state at that time. Under president-general D.D.T. Jabavu*, Mvabaza was again elected to the executive committee of the ANC in December 1936. In 1943 when the Transvaal ANC was reorganized, Mvabaza served on its

working committee. He also became a member of the National Anti-Pass Council during the anti-pass campaign of 1944–1946.

During the 1930s Mvabaza took part in the protests against the so-called J.B.M. Hertzog* Draft Bills—the Natives' Trust and Land Bill which affected ownership of land outside the reserves, and the Representation of Natives Bill which dealt with the removal of the Cape black voters from the common voters' roll. Dissatisfaction culminated in the All-African Convention (AAC) in Bloemfontein in December 1935, with Mvabaza acting as one of the organizers. During the first meeting he was elected to the AAC executive committee.

At the 1925 annual conference held in Johannesburg an ANC flag was proposed. Mvabaza suggested black for the African people, green for the land, and gold for the mineral riches. His proposal was unanimously adopted.

In local politics he served on the Klipspruit Advisory Board and later on the Pimville Advisory Board (Klipspruit Township was founded in 1904 and renamed Pimville in 1934, after James Howard Pim* who was deputy mayor of Johannesburg in 1903). Mvabaza also owned a shop in Klipspruit.

Mvabaza and his wife Sina had two sons and a daughter. He died in Pimville, Johannesburg district, in 1955.

State Archives, Pretoria: Archives of the Department of Native Affairs; — M. BENSON, *The African patriots: the story of the African National Congress of South Africa*. London, 1963; — T.D.M. SKOTA (ed.), *The African who's who: an illustrated classified register and national biographical dictionary of the Africans in the Transvaal*. 3rd ed., rev. & enl. [Johannesburg, 1965]; — C.M. DE VILLIERS, *Die African National Congress en sy aktiwiteite aan die Wirwatersrand, 1912–1956*. M.A. thesis. University of Pretoria, 1965; — P. WALSH, *The rise of African Nationalism in South Africa: the African National Congress, 1912–1952*. London, 1970; — T. KARIS & G.M. CARTER (eds), *From protest to challenge: a documentary history of African politics in South Africa, 1882–1964*. 2. *Hope and challenge, 1935–1952*. Stanford, 1973; — T. KARIS & G.M. CARTER (eds), *From protest to challenge: a documentary history of African politics in South Africa, 1882–1964*. 4. *Political profiles, 1882–1964*. Stanford, 1977; — P. BONNER, *The Transvaal Native Congress, 1917–1920: the radicalisation of the black petty bourgeoisie on the Rand*. In: S. MARKS & R. RATHBONE (eds), *Industrialisation and social change in South Africa: African class formation, culture and consciousness, 1870–1930*. London, 1982; — A. ODENDAAL, *Black protest politics in South Africa to 1912*. Cape Town, 1984; — B. WILLAN, *Sol Plaatje: a biography*. Johannesburg, 1984; — READER'S DIGEST ASSOCIATION SOUTH AFRICA, *Illustrated history of South Africa: the real story*. Cape Town, 1988.

N

NAICKER, Gangathura Mohambry (Monty) (*Durban, 30 September 1910—†Durban, 12 January 1978), a medical doctor and prominent politician. His grandfather came from India to South Africa as a contract labourer. He was the eldest son of Papiah Gangathura Naicker, a well-to-do businessman, and his wife Dhanalutchmee Pillay. Naicker matriculated at the Marine College in 1927. In 1928 he left for the University of Edinburgh, Scotland, to study medicine. Naicker qualified as a medical doctor in 1934 and then returned to South Africa.



In 1935 Naicker established a medical practice in Durban and in the same year he founded a Hindu Youth Movement which concentrated on the social and sporting activities of the youth. His medical practice attracted a large number of poor Indians. He became involved with their social and economic problems. In 1940 he joined the Liberal Study Group, a multiracial organization, and was exposed to radical ideas. To a great extent this group laid the foundation of his later political direction.

Naicker's active political involvement started in 1941 when he became involved in the Indian trade union movement and associated himself with several strikes between 1941 and 1945. In 1943 he participated in Indian opposition to restrictions on their right to own land which were imposed by the Pegging Act (Trading and Occupation of Land (Transvaal and Natal) Restriction Act of 1943). The ensuing modifications to the act that the government agreed to did not satisfy Naicker. In 1944 he was a co-founder and first chairperson of the Anti-Segregation Council and joined in the increasing opposition to the moderate leadership of established Indian politicians such as A.I. Kajeer* and P.R. Panther. By 1945 Naicker had built up a great Indian support for his programme of complete equality. When in October 1945 he and like-minded people gained the upper hand in the Natal Indian Congress (NIC), he was elected as president, an office which he held until 1963. Since 1946 he was an active participant in the Natal Indian Passive Resistance Campaign against the government's restrictive legislation, including the so-called Ghetto Act (Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act no. 28 of 1946) which

on the one hand restricted Indian land ownership and residence to specific areas in Natal, and on the other hand tried to soften the drastic effects by offering political representation to Indians through white members of parliament. Several times during the campaign his actions led to his arrest and imprisonment. In 1947 he served a six months' sentence for occupying land reserved for whites, and in 1948 he was again sentenced to six months' imprisonment for leading a group of resisters into the Transvaal at Volksrust.

Naicker was in favour of co-operation between Indians and Africans against the prevailing government system. This led to the alliance between the African National Congress (ANC) and the South African Indian Congress (SAIC), and the so-called Doctors' Pact of March 1947 in which the intention to co-operate was clearly spelled out, the signatories being Naicker, Dr Y.M. Dadoo* (president of the Transvaal Indian Congress) and Dr A.B. Xuma* (president of the ANC). Shortly afterwards he and Dadoo visited India to recruit support for the endeavours of the South African Indians, and received official recognition from Mahatma Gandhi*, Nehru and Jinnah. In September 1948 they were prevented from attending the United Nations session when their passports were confiscated by the government. In January 1949, a day after the beginning of the bloody clashes between Indians and Africans in Durban, he and A.W.G. Champion*, the president of the Natal ANC, made an appeal for peace and an end to violence.

In September 1952 Naicker became involved with the Defiance Campaign when he and the new president of the Natal ANC, Albert Luthuli*, addressed a mass protest meeting in Durban. After the meeting Naicker and 20 black volunteers walked to the Berea railway station in Durban where they deliberately went into the waiting room for whites, and were arrested. He served a month's prison sentence for this infringement of the law.

During the 1950s Naicker was president of the SAIC for at least two terms. In 1953 he was restricted and forbidden to attend gatherings. However, he remained president of both the SAIC and NIC in name. Naicker was one of the accused in the Treason Trial of 1956-1961 but the charges against him were withdrawn in 1958. Between 1956 and 1968 he was served with several banning orders, the last of which expired in 1973. These restrictions in effect brought an end to his political activities although he headed the Anti-SAIC in 1977 and began a campaign against apartheid institutions created by the government. In 1966 he was forced to evacuate his house in Percy Osborne Road in Durban in terms of the Group Areas Act.

Naicker married Mariemuthu Appavu of Port Elizabeth in 1936. She took part in the Passive Resistance Campaign and on occasion was also arrested and imprisoned. They had a son and a daughter. His hobbies included reading, golf, snooker and table tennis. His *Historical synopsis of Anti-Indian legislation in South Africa* was published in 1945. In his political convictions and conduct he was a follower of Gandhi, and remained aloof from Marxist doctrine.

The South African Indian who's who and commercial directory, 1936-37. Pietermaritzburg, 1935; — Treason Trial profile: Dr G.M. Naicker. *Fighting talk*, 11(4), May 1957; — T. KARIS & G.M. CARTER (eds), *From protest to challenge: a documentary history of African*

politics in South Africa, 1882-1964. 2. *Hope and challenge, 1935-1952*. Stanford, 1973; — T. KARIS & G.M. CARTER (eds), *From protest to challenge: a documentary history of African politics in South Africa, 1882-1964*. 3. *Challenge and violence, 1953-1964*. Stanford, 1977; — T. KARIS & G.M. CARTER (eds), *From protest to challenge: a documentary history of African politics in South Africa, 1882-1964*. 4. *Political profiles, 1882-1964*. Stanford, 1977; — Obituaries: *The Star*, 12 & 13 January 1978; *The Rand Daily Mail*, 13 January 1978; *The Natal Mercury*, 13 January 1978; — Tributes: Our greatest Indian leader since Gandhiji. *Sechaba*, 12(Second Quarter), 1978; He cheated assassins: two attempts made to kill Dr Monty Naicker. *Post (Natal)*, 18 January 1978; — *Africa who's who*. London, 1981; — J. & R. SIMONS, *Class and colour in South Africa, 1850-1950*. London, 1983; — M. BENSON, *South Africa: the struggle for a birthright*. London, 1985; — E.S. REDDY (comp.), *Monty speaks: speeches of Dr G.M. (Monty) Naicker, 1945-1963*. Durban & Bellville, 1991; — *Makers of modern Africa: profiles in history*. 2nd ed. London, 1991.

NAICKER, Marimuthu Pragalathan (*Durban, 1920—†in an aeroplane over



Europe, 29 April 1977), started his career as an uneducated labourer, but later became a journalist and politician. He was born into a working-class family and grew up so poverty-stricken that he had to leave primary school to go and work in a factory. He matriculated, however, by means of extramural study. For a while he worked as a lorry driver, but became a full-time trade union organizer among workers in the sugar plantations in Natal while still in his early twenties. He was soon secretary of the Natal Sugar Workers' Union.

Naicker's political career started in the 1940s. He helped to steer the Natal Indian Congress (NIC) in a militant direction, and from 1945 until 1952 he was vice-president of that organization. In 1946 he was secretary of the council which organized the Natal Indian Passive Resistance Campaign against the government's restrictive legislation, including the so-called Ghetto Act (Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act no. 28 of 1946) which on the one hand restricted Indian land ownership and residence to specific areas in Natal, and on the other hand tried to soften the drastic effects by offering political representation to Indians through white members of parliament. Twice during the campaign he was taken into custody.

In the mean time Naicker was also active in the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA, South African Communist Party (SACP) after 1953). By the middle of the 1950s Naicker was the Natal manager and editor of *New Age* (successor to *The Guardian*, mouthpiece of the CPSA/SACP).

In 1952 Naicker and M.B. Yengwa were joint secretaries of the Joint Action Council in Natal for the Defiance Campaign of the South African Indian Congress (SAIC) and the African National Congress (ANC). Shortly afterwards, under the Suppression of Communism Act, he was banned from further political activities and forced to resign from all political organizations. Nevertheless, he still acted as joint secretary of the Congress of the People campaign in Natal from 1954 to 1955.

He was one of the accused during the Treason Trial which lasted from 1956 to 1961, but the charge against him was withdrawn in 1958. Two years later, during the state of emergency which followed the Sharpeville shootings in March 1960, he was placed in detention for four months. In 1963 he was arrested again and accused of furthering the aims of the ANC, and though not formally charged, detained for 90 days. In 1964 he was detained for 180 days, but again was not charged.

After his release from prison, Naicker left South Africa in 1965 and soon joined the ANC in exile. He represented the ANC at international conferences and anti-apartheid campaigns in many countries, and was appointed as director of Publicity and Information in the London office of the ANC. Furthermore, he was the first editor of the ANC's official newspaper, *Sechaba*.

He was a member of the executive committee of the International Organization of Journalists (IOJ). Naicker was awarded the IOJ's gold pin in 1971, and the Julius Fucik medal for outstanding service to journalism in 1976.

Naicker died of a heart attack during a flight between London and Berlin, and was cremated in London. He was survived by his wife Saro and their children.

T. KARIS & G.M. CARTER (eds), *From protest to challenge: a documentary history of African politics in South Africa, 1882-1964*. 2. *Hope and challenge, 1935-1952*. Stanford, 1973; — Obituary: *The Natal Mercury*, 2 May 1977; *Sechaba*, 11 (Third Quarter), 1977; — T. KARIS & G.M. CARTER (eds), *From protest to challenge: a documentary history of African politics in South Africa, 1882-1964*. 3. *Challenge and violence, 1953-1964*. Stanford, 1977; — T. KARIS & G.M. CARTER (eds), *From protest to challenge: a documentary history of African politics in South Africa, 1882-1964*. 4. *Political profiles, 1882-1964*. Stanford, 1977; — M.P. Naicker: first editor of *Sechaba*. *Sechaba*, May 1987; — *Makers of modern Africa: profiles in history*. 2nd ed. London, 1991.

NAKENE, Godfrey (*Ga-Ramokgopa, Pietersburg district, 24 June 1908— †Kameelrivier, Groblersdal district, January 1983), educationist and school principal, was the son of a tribesman, Edwin Nakene and his wife . riam Omi. He grew up in a tribal milieu, but since his parents had embraced the Christian religion, they brought Nakene up under strict Christian principles.

He passed Standard 6 at Ramoroko School. After that he went to Stofberg Gedenkskool (Stofberg Memorial School) near Viljoensdrif in the Orange Free State, a training college of the Dutch Reformed Church in Africa. However, before completing his primary teacher's diploma, he left for Mariannhill, the Roman Catholic mission station in the Pinetown district. Here he completed both the primary and higher primary teacher's courses in 1932. After that he attended the afternoon classes for private students organized by Mrs Edith Rheinallt Jones, a leading educationist at the Albert Street Methodist School in central Johannesburg, where he passed



matic in 1937. To pay for his tuition, Nakene often did garden and kitchen work for some of his tutors.

Through the intervention of Peter Raynes, priest-in-charge at St Cyprian's, Nakene and H.P. Madibane* were allowed to enrol as students at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. Nakene and Madibane thus became the first two Africans to receive a B.A. degree from this university. In the 1950s he obtained the University Education Diploma (U.E.D.) from the University of South Africa.

To appreciate Nakene's contribution to education and community affairs, his life must be put in the context of the period in which he lived and worked. There were very few professions that were open to Africans; other job opportunities were restricted and consequently teaching was the mark of an educated African. Moreover, very few African teachers could start teaching at the rank of principal, but Nakene's first appointment was as principal of the Dutch Reformed School in Johannesburg.

In 1936 W.W.M. Eiselen* was appointed chief inspector of Native Education in the Transvaal. He initiated the establishment of day secondary schools (i.e. nonresidential secondary schools) for African pupils in the Transvaal as an experiment. Two such schools were established in Johannesburg. Because of his achievements at the Dutch Reformed School, Nakene was an obvious choice to head one of the schools: Orlando High School. The other school was built in Western Native Township, the Johannesburg Bantu High School (sometimes called Western High), with Madibane appointed as principal.

Nakene was a capable leader of a teaching team. He set for himself and his school high standards in both teaching and student performance, as he was highly gifted in motivating staff and students in the class room and in extramural activities.

The urbanization of the African was at its height during and immediately after World War II (1939-1945). During his term of fifteen years as the principal of Orlando High School, Nakene experienced the ups and downs of African urban life. The many restrictive laws that regulated the lives of Africans in urban areas—such as influx control, job reservation, the Natives (Urban Areas) Act and the Bantu Education Act—led to much unrest and many protest actions. Nakene nevertheless led Orlando High School and its staff through turbulent times, undoubtedly because he was a devoted principal and community leader, one who enjoyed popularity among staff and students and support in the community. When he left Orlando, the school was renamed in his honour to Nakene High School.

In 1955, when the position of sub-inspector was introduced as the highest position an African teacher could aspire to, Nakene was amongst the first Africans to be appointed. He was appointed to the Pretoria East Circuit, transferred to the East Rand Circuit and later to the Krugersdorp Circuit. In 1969 he was promoted to circuit inspector in the Ramokgopa Circuit, his place of birth, an inspectoral circuit covering a wide area: Ga-Ramokgopa, Botlokwa, Ga-Dikgale, Ga-Mamabolo, Ga-Mothapo, Ga-Molepo, Ga-Mothiba, Ga-Sekgopo, Ga-Mamaila, as well as the entire Bolobedu. He thus spread his

influence over a large section of the Northern Transvaal until his retirement in 1973.

Nakene was also active in community affairs. He was chairperson of the Orlando Lads' Hostel that played a significant role in the rehabilitation of wayward youth in the urban environment. He was a member of the Moroka Advisory Board which literally controlled a big shantytown that mushroomed after World War II, covering a major part of the present-day Soweto. Nakene was also a member of the board of the Orlando Donaldson Community Centre, a social centre for the people of Orlando.

For his outstanding contribution to education the University of the North awarded him an honorary doctorate in education posthumously in 1983.

After retiring Nakene turned to his love for farming. On his farm in Kameelrivier in the Groblersdal district which he had purchased in September 1954, he concentrated on cattle.

Nakene was married to Miriam Pheladi (nee Mathabathe). A son and a daughter were born of the marriage.

Master of the Supreme Court, Pretoria: Estate no. 7035/85; — Bantu education who's who: G. Nakene. *Bantu education journal*, 3(10), December 1957; — *Honoris causa*: G. Nakene, University of the North, 1983.

NGCAYIYA, Henry Reed (*Fort Beaufort district, Cape Colony, 1860—†Johannesburg (?), 1928), teacher, interpreter, church leader and politician. He trained as a teacher at Healdtown Institution, a Methodist boarding school near Fort Beaufort in the Eastern Cape. Ngcayiya left the teaching profession after a few years, and became an interpreter in the magistrate's court in Aliwal North. In the 1890s he was ordained as a minister of the African Methodist Episcopal Church (AMEC), but after a split in the AMEC he joined the Ethiopian Church in South Africa and by 1910 served as the secretary of that church. Later he held the post of president of the church for more than sixteen years.



Ngcayiya's political involvement started shortly after the South African War (1899–1902). In 1907 he served on the executive committee of the Orange River Colony Native Congress. Two years later, after he had moved to the Transvaal, he served on the executive committee and was secretary of the Transvaal Native Congress (TNC). In 1911 he was a nonofficial observer at meetings of the South African Native Convention (SANC) executive committee. During these meetings the establishment of an African political organization was discussed. This led to the foundation of a new country-wide congress. Ngcayiya attended the inaugural meeting of the South African Native National Congress (SANNC, African National Congress (ANC) after 1923) in Bloemfontein on 8 January 1912 and was elected as assistant chaplain.

At a mass meeting of African organizations in Cape Town in March 1918

the increasingly discriminatory legislation of the government was severely criticized. Ngcayiya attacked the discriminatory measures in the Urban Areas Bill of 1918. He said that the compulsory residential segregation was "indicative of a suspicion that Natives were suffering from some contagious disease against which the white race must be protected".

Ngcayiya was not an official member of the 1919 SANNC deputation to the Versailles Peace Conference and the British government that tried to obtain a better dispensation for Africans in South Africa. However, as president of the Ethiopian Church of South Africa he joined the deputation as representative for Nyamanda, the eldest son of Lobengula*, to petition the land issues in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), and Nyamanda's claim to his father's throne.

During the TNC congress in Pietersburg in 1921 Ngcayiya was elected chaplain of the Transvaal branch of the SANNC. Simultaneously he was elected to a special committee of the TNC that had to investigate the eviction of Africans from farms. The eviction resulted in families wandering around poverty-stricken, bringing their livestock along with them.

Z.R. Mahabane*, president-general of the ANC (1924-1927), accepted Ngcayiya into his 'cabinet' as chaplain-general. When J.T. Gumede* succeeded Mahabane as president-general at the annual national congress of the ANC of 1927 Ngcayiya was elected to the national executive committee.

He was known as a friendly, magnanimous and energetic person. He was married and his eldest son was a teacher in the United States of America.

Central Archives, Pretoria: Archives of the Department of Native Affairs; — T.D.M. SKOTA (ed.), *The African yearly register, being an illustrated national biographical dictionary (who's who) of black folks in Africa*. Johannesburg, [1931]; — C.M. DE VILLIERS, *Die African National Congress en sy aktiwiteite aan die Witwatersrand, 1912-1956*. M.A. thesis. University of Pretoria, 1965; — P. WALSH, *The rise of African Nationalism in South Africa: the African National Congress, 1912-1952*. London, 1970; — M.L. DANEEL, *Old and new in the Southern Shona independent churches. 1. Background and rise of the major movements*. The Hague, 1971; — J.O. STORRY, *The shattered nation*. Cape Town, 1974; — T. KARIS & G.M. CARTER (eds), *From protest to challenge: a documentary history of African politics in South Africa, 1882-1964. 4. Political profiles, 1882-1964*. Stanford, 1977; — A. ODENDAAL, *Black protest politics in South Africa to 1912*. Cape Town, 1984; — B. WILLAN, *Sol Plaatje: a biography*. Johannesburg, 1984.

NGOYI, Lilian Masediba (*Gamatlala, near Pretoria, 1911—†Johannesburg, 12 March 1980), a dressmaker, political activist and trade unionist, and women's leader. She was the daughter of a Pedi mineworker who later became a packer in a shop. She grew up in poverty and her parents could only afford to let her attend Kilnerton Institution, a Methodist college in Pretoria, until she had passed Standard 6. For a time she was being trained as a nurse at the City Deep Mines Hospital, but did not enter this profession. After having been a domestic worker for a while, she became a machine operator in a clothes factory in 1945 and joined the Garment Workers' Union (GWU).

Ngoyi's political career began in 1952 when she took part in a protest march against the banning of the general secretary of the GWU, Emil Solomon (Solly) Sachs*. In the same year she joined the Women's League of the African



National Congress (ANC) and took part in the Defiance Campaign. She was arrested during the campaign, but was released. Shortly after the campaign she was elected as president of the Women's League of the ANC.

In April 1954 Ngoyi attended the first National Conference of Women, which could be regarded as the launching of the Federation of South African Women (FSAW). She was elected as one of the four vice-presidents, representing the Transvaal, and had to establish a regional committee for the Transvaal

ANC Women's League. In 1955 she was elected to the executive committee of the Transvaal ANC. She was closely involved with the FSAW demonstration at the Union Buildings in Pretoria on 27 October 1955. At the end of 1955 she undertook her only overseas tour when she was the FSAW delegate at a conference of the International Democratic Federation of Women in Lausanne, Switzerland. She also visited the German Democratic Republic (East Germany), the People's Republic of China, the Soviet Union and Britain.

After her return Ngoyi enthusiastically attended anti-pass campaigns. In January 1956 she addressed a large anti-pass rally in Port Elizabeth, and in April she was in the Winburg district where she persuaded large numbers of African women to burn their passes in public. Her anti-pass activities climaxed when she was one of the African women leaders to march to the Union Buildings in Pretoria on 9 August 1956. Approximately 20 000 women took part in the march, which made it one of the largest protest marches in South African history. Ngoyi's leadership among women culminated in her election as national president of FSAW during its conference from 11–12 August 1956. The women's march to the Union Buildings probably also raised the prestige of women within the ANC substantially—up to that time women had only been elected to the regional executive committees of the ANC—because in December 1956 Ngoyi became the first woman to be elected to the national executive committee of the ANC.

Following the Congress of the People at Kliptown in 1955, Ngoyi was one of the 156 ANC leaders who were arrested for high treason in December 1956. She was one of the last 30 accused in the Treason Trial of 1956–1961. This resulted in her political activities being hampered time and again. However, she took part in as many campaigns as possible. For example, during the unrest in the Marico district in 1957–1958 she secretly visited the area and addressed a rally of local women.

During the 1960 state of emergency Ngoyi was detained for five months, 71 days of which she spent in solitary confinement. During the third FSAW national conference in Port Elizabeth in September 1961 she was re-elected as national president. A month after the conference she was banned and for five years she was restricted to Orlando township where she lived in a three-roomed house in White City. In fact, from then until her death she was effectively banned permanently and was listed as a communist. She was forced to give up her job and tried to make a living from sewing at home. In spite of all the

setbacks she remained determined to win the political battle against apartheid.

Ngoyi was charismatic and a good public speaker with a highly developed sense of the dramatic. Although she had a powerful personality, she tended to be highly emotional and therefore allowed herself to be disciplined by others. She had a large personal following among African women.

She was married, but shortly after the birth of her two children she was divorced. (Some sources state that her husband, a van driver, died early.)

A. SAMPSON, *The treason cage: the opposition on trial in South Africa*. London, 1958; — T. KARIS & G.M. CARTER (eds), *From protest to challenge: a documentary history of African politics in South Africa, 1882-1964*. 3. *Challenge and violence, 1953-1964*. Stanford, 1977; — T. KARIS & G.M. CARTER (eds), *From protest to challenge: a documentary history of African politics in South Africa, 1882-1964*. 4. *Political profiles, 1882-1964*. Stanford, 1977; — H. BERNSTEIN, *For their triumphs and for their tears: conditions and resistance of women in apartheid South Africa*. London, 1978; — T. LODGE, *Black politics in South Africa since 1945*. Johannesburg, 1983; — M. BENSON, *South Africa: the struggle for a birthright*. London, 1985; — F. BAARD, *My spirit is not banned*, as told to Barbie Schreiner. Harare, 1986; — J. SCHADEBERG (comp. & ed.), *The fifties people of South Africa*. [S.I.], 1987; — C. WALKER, *Women and resistance in South Africa*. 2nd ed. Cape Town, 1991; — *Makers of modern Africa: profiles in history*. 2nd ed. London, 1991.

NKOSI, Johannes (*Natal, 3 September 1905—†Durban, 19 December 1930),



a martyr for the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA, South African Communist Party (SACP) after 1953), was the son of Jacobina Nkosi (no details of his father could be traced).

Nkosi spent his early years on the farm of Pixley Seme near Standerton and attended the St John's Mission School at Blood River up to Standard 5. For a time he worked as farm labourer before moving to Johannesburg to become a domestic worker. He was soon involved with the 1919 anti-pass campaign of the South African Native National Congress (SANNC, African National Congress (ANC) after 1923) and became an organizer in the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU). In 1926 he joined the CPSA, one of numerous Africans to be recruited for the CPSA through communist night schools in Johannesburg. He impressed the party leadership with his intelligence and dynamic personality. The CPSA policy to encourage African leadership, as well as the more aggressive CPSA propaganda for an independent 'native republic', led to Nkosi's appointment as organizer in Durban in February 1929.

Initially Nkosi and the CPSA kept a low profile and mainly organized public meetings for African dock workers. Nkosi simultaneously lectured at the communist night school. His other major activity was selling *Umsebenzi*, the mouthpiece of the CPSA.

After the Durban beer riots of June 1929 in which the CPSA was not involved, circumstances apparently became more favourable for the CPSA due

to growing African militancy. During the riots the ICU yase Natal was the strongest black organization in Durban, but the moderation of its leader, A.W.G. Champion*, disillusioned many of its supporters. Consequently many Africans turned to the more militant Nkosi, who in his speeches propagated for instance the CPSA political programme which called for a 'South African native republic' and the burning of passbooks. (The pass-burning campaign was a central part of the programme of mass action formulated around the 'native republic' programme.) He furthermore openly stated that Africans should fight for their freedom. He was also well known to members of the ICU because he usually attended the Sunday meetings of the ICU to sell his newspaper, though he had to ask Champion for permission at every meeting. At that stage the union leadership in Durban had built up a strong Zulu populism.

The deportation of Champion in October 1930 left a leadership vacuum in Durban, resulting in Africans siding in large numbers with Nkosi and the CPSA, their speeches finding resonance with local idioms of resistance. By December 1930, it is claimed, Nkosi had become the most influential African leader in Durban. However, his youth made him unacceptable to many of the older workers for whom age conferred a certain authority to political leadership.

Coupled with the growth of the Durban branch, the CPSA started a country-wide campaign to burn passbooks on 16 December 1930, the Day of the Covenant. It was nevertheless only in Durban that the campaign achieved anything approaching success. It was during the burning of passbooks in Durban that there was a bloody clash between Africans and the Durban city police—a mixed force of whites and Africans, armed with batons and revolvers, and *knopkieries* and assegais respectively. Nkosi and several other protestors were seriously injured. After an emergency operation Nkosi died on 19 December of shock and haemorrhage of the cerebrum and the abdominal cavity. Rumours stated that he was struck down by a single bullet in the head, but an autopsy showed that his skull was fractured and that he had severe stab wounds over his body.

Nkosi's death was one of the few overt proofs of communist activity in South Africa in an otherwise disappointing year for the CPSA. This created a martyr's role for Nkosi, with an accompanying mythologizing of the story of his death and an honorary position as a revolutionary martyr in the black freedom struggle. His death is annually commemorated by the ANC and the SACP during their Heroes Day on 16 December. In July 1953 a memorial to Nkosi was unveiled at the Stellawood Cemetery in Durban. During the 1950s the South African Congress of Trade Unions undertook frequent pilgrimages to his grave to find inspiration for their fight against white oppression.

Nkosi was apparently married to a certain Hetty. Further details of the marriage could not be obtained.

Skull badly fractured. *The Natal Advertiser*, 17 December 1930; — Obituary: Another riot fatality: native Communist leader dies. *The Natal Advertiser*, 19 December 1930; — E. ROUX, *Time longer than rope: a history of the black man's struggle for freedom in South Africa*. London, 1948; — T. KARIS & G.M. CARTER (eds), *From protest to challenge. 4. Political profiles, 1882-1964*. Stanford, 1977; — *South African communist speaks:*

documents from the history of the South African Communist Party, 1915-1980. London, 1981; — H.R. PIKE, *A history of communism in South Africa.* Germiston, 1985; — F.A. MOUTON, Die dood van Johannes Nkosi: rewolusionêre martelaar. *South African historical journal*, 19, 1987; — P. LA HAUSSA, The message of warriors: the ICU, the labouring poor and the making of a popular political culture in Durban, 1925-1930. In: P. BONNER *et al.* (eds), *Holding their ground: class, locality and culture in 19th and 20th century South Africa.* Johannesburg, 1989.

NOKWE, Philemon Pearce Dumalisile (Duma) (*Evaton, Transvaal, 13 May



1927—†Lusaka, Zambia, 12 January 1978), first African advocate of the Supreme Court of Transvaal and politician. As a child he grew up in a working-class environment—his father was a shoemaker—and attended primary schools in Evaton. He matriculated at St Peter's Secondary School in Johannesburg. (This was probably the Anglican school situated in Rosettenville, and not the school of the same name at Crown Mines.) Nokwe then proceeded to the South African Native College (University of Fort Hare) where he obtained the B.Sc. degree in 1949 and a teacher's diploma a year later. In 1951 he started teaching in Krugersdorp at the secondary

school for Africans.

Nokwe became acquainted with politics early in his life. One of his teachers in Johannesburg was Oliver Tambo, a leader of the African National Congress Youth League (CYL), who probably influenced him. Nokwe was involved with the formation of a CYL branch at Fort Hare and after his return to the Transvaal he remained an active CYL member, becoming chairperson of the Orlando branch in 1952. The following year he was suspended from teaching because of his participation in the Defiance Campaign, but obtained a post at a private school.

In the second half of 1953 he accompanied Walter Sisulu, the secretary-general of the African National Congress (ANC), on a five-month tour overseas. They visited Britain, the Netherlands, Israel, the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and other socialist centres, including Bucharest in Rumania and Warsaw in Poland where they attended a youth festival and a youth congress respectively. After his return to South Africa he openly associated with the left wing of the ANC who co-operated with the South African Indian Congress and the South African Communist Party (SACP), including white communists. This increasingly led to antagonism from the Africanists in the ANC, especially P.K. Leballo, who believed in 'Africa for the Africans'. This opposition to closer ties with Indians and whites crystallized in the election of Leballo as chairperson of the Orlando branch of the CYL in Nokwe's place in March 1954. The tension between the Africanists and the CYL who tended towards multiracialism continued, and at the annual congress of the CYL Leballo's election as chairperson was not upheld. Nokwe was, however, elected as secretary-general of the national executive of the CYL, a

position he retained until 1958. In 1955 he was elected to the national executive committee of the ANC, as well as secretary of the working committee. In 1958 he was elected as secretary-general of the ANC—a position he held until 1969. Within the ANC he was closely involved with the dissension between the Africanists and the supporters of the Freedom Charter—a document which he had to defend against criticism time and again.

In 1954 Nokwe was restricted to Johannesburg for five years under the Suppression of Communism Act. The restriction was extended in 1959 for a further five years. Notwithstanding these banning orders Nokwe took part in resistance against the implementation of the Bantu Education Act (1953) in 1955.

The bans served on him proved an obstacle in Nokwe's professional career. Through extramural study Nokwe obtained the LL.B. degree at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in 1955 and qualified as an advocate. The Group Areas Act (1950) and Natives (Urban Areas) Act, however, prevented him from occupying rooms in the same building as other Johannesburg barristers. Furthermore, the restrictions prevented him from travelling freely to attend to clients and prepare for cases. He was one of the last 30 accused in the Treason Trial which lasted from 1956 to 1961 and an unofficial member of the defense team. His own legal practice collapsed in this period.

Nokwe was involved with the ANC's economic boycott in 1959, as well as the planning of an anti-pass campaign for 1959 to 1960. During the traumatic period after the Sharpeville shootings on 21 March 1960 which led to the declaration of a state of emergency by the government on 30 March and the banning of the ANC and the Pan-Africanist Congress on 8 April, Nokwe was detained by the police for five months. After his release he was a convener of the Consultative Conference of African Leaders in Orlando in December 1960. Although he could not attend the conference because of a banning order, he was elected to the continuation committee to organize an all-in African conference. This took place in March 1961—although the unity at the conference soon broke down and the ANC dominated it. In the same month he was rearrested and found guilty of furthering the interests of a banned organization under the Unlawful Organizations Act. A prison sentence was imposed upon him, but he appealed successfully against it.

Nokwe left South Africa in 1963 and joined the ANC in exile. He was intensely involved with campaigns to recruit support for the ANC and with attempts to effect a comprehensive economic boycott against South Africa. Ill health forced him to resign his position as secretary-general of the ANC in 1969. By 1974 he was again active in overseas opposition politics and at the United Nations advocated that South Africa be suspended from that body. In 1975 he was appointed as deputy secretary-general as well as ANC director of international affairs. Periodically he broadcast over the ANC's Radio Freedom.

There was sometimes talk that Nokwe was a member of the SACP. He was a zealous author and produced a number of political articles for newspapers and magazines. He was described as "tough, witty, urbane ... one of the ANC's ablest politicians".

He died after a short illness and was buried in Lusaka. He was survived by

his wife and children.

R. SEGAL, *Political Africa: a who's who of personalities and parties*. London, 1961; — C.M. DE VILLIERS, *Die African National Congress en sy aktiwiteite aan die Witwatersrand, 1912-1956*. M.A. thesis. University of Pretoria, 1965; — T. KARIS & G.M. CARTER (eds), *From protest to challenge: a documentary history of African politics in South Africa, 1882-1964*. 2. *Hope and challenge, 1935-1952*. Stanford, 1973; — T. KARIS & G.M. CARTER (eds), *From protest to challenge: a documentary history of African politics in South Africa, 1882-1964*. 3. *Challenge and violence, 1953-1964*. Stanford, 1977; — T. KARIS & G.M. CARTER (eds), *From protest to challenge: a documentary history of African politics in South Africa, 1882-1964*. 4. *Political profiles, 1882-1964*. Stanford, 1977; — Duma Nokwe: honourable son of Africa. *Sechaba*, 12(Second Quarter), 1978; — T. LODGE, *Black politics in South Africa since 1945*. Johannesburg, 1983; — M. BENSON, *South Africa: the struggle for a birthright*. London, 1985; — *Makers of modern Africa: profiles in history*. 2nd ed. London, 1991.

NZULA, Albert (*Rouxville, Orange Free State, 16 November 1905—†Moscow, USSR (Russia), 14 January 1934), teacher and journalist, but during his short public career particularly well known as a leader in the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA, South African Communist Party (SACP) after 1953). He received his schooling at Bensonvale in Herschel, and at Lovedale Institution at Alice in the Eastern Cape where he qualified as a teacher. His first teaching post was at Aliwal North and simultaneously he acted as a court interpreter. He joined the local branch of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU) and was soon elected as secretary.



In about 1927 Nzula moved to the Witwatersrand where he obtained a teaching post at the Wilberforce Institute in Evaton. His political involvement increased significantly shortly after this. He joined the African National Congress (ANC) in 1928 and in August of the same year came in contact with the CPSA when he attended a meeting in Evaton. In the same period he read Bishop W.M. Brown's book, *Communism and christianism: analyzed and contrasted from the view-point of Darwinism* (1920), which was sympathetic to communism. The book made a lasting impression on Nzula. It convinced him "that every right-minded person ought to be a communist" (cited from a letter to *The South African Worker* on 24 September 1928). He claimed to be "prepared to do [his] little bit to enlighten [his] countrymen" and immediately joined the CPSA.

Nzula next resigned from his teaching post at Evaton and settled in Johannesburg where he helped Charles Baker, a white communist, to run a night school. In February 1929 he delivered a lecture to the students of the night school on the so-called J.B.M. Hertzog* Draft Bills—the Natives' Trust and Land Bill that affected ownership of land outside the reserves and the Representation of Natives Bill that dealt with the removal of the Cape black voters from the common voters' roll. On the grounds of allegations that he incited his

students to hostility, he was sentenced to a month's imprisonment.

Nzula's abilities as speaker and writer were quickly recognized. At the seventh annual conference of the CPSA that was held from December 1928 to January 1929 Nzula was elected as organizing and assistant secretary. When D.J. Wolton left South Africa in July 1929, Nzula succeeded him as the first African general secretary of the CPSA and editor of the party newspaper *The South African Worker*. His election was connected with the CPSA's Africanization policy towards the end of the 1920s. However, he held the post for less than a year, because at the end of 1929 he became general secretary of the communist-controlled Federation of Non-White Trade Unions.

When the League of African Rights held its first conference in Johannesburg in December 1929 Nzula was elected as co-secretary of this new organization that only existed for a couple of months. He was still a member of the ANC although very critical of the conservative leaders of the ANC. However, he attended the annual conference of the ANC in Bloemfontein in April 1930. The ideological differences between the conservatives and the communists in the ANC came to a head at that conference. Nzula could, however, do nothing to prevent the pro-communist J.T. Gumede* from being outvoted as president-general by the conservative Pixley Seme. Later that year Nzula energetically helped to organize the CPSA's comprehensive anti-pass campaigns that culminated in country-wide public pass-burning ceremonies on 16 December 1930.

Nzula thereafter left South Africa to study further at the Lenin School in Moscow where he arrived in August 1931. In the USSR he also worked for Communism International (Comintern) and as a journalist submitted contributions to *The Negro Worker*, an organ of Comintern. While in Moscow he contracted pneumonia and died. Some sources contend, however, that Joseph Stalin's secret police murdered him, though no specific reasons are given.

Nzula was a good public speaker and writer with considerable political capabilities. His weakness for alcohol, however, spoilt his outstanding abilities. He is sometimes credited for exposing the shortcomings of the white leadership of the CPSA and inspiring prominent African CPSA members to assert themselves as leaders.

No details of his private life could be traced.

E. ROUX, *Time longer than rope: a history of the black man's struggle for freedom in South Africa*. 2nd ed. Madison, 1964; — P. WALSH, *The rise of African Nationalism in South Africa: the African National Congress, 1912-1952*. London, 1970; — T. KARIS & G.M. CARTER (eds), *From protest to challenge: a documentary history of African politics in South Africa, 1882-1964*. 4. *Political profiles, 1882-1964*. Stanford, 1977; — *South African communist speaks: documents from the history of the South African Communist Party, 1915-1980*. London, 1981; — J. & R. SIMONS, *Class and colour in South Africa, 1850-1950*. London, 1983; — Pen pictures of South African communists. *Umsebenzi*, 2(1), 1986; — H.R. PIKE, *A history of communism in South Africa*. 2nd ed., rev. & enl. Germiston, 1988; — *Makers of modern Africa: profiles in history*. 2nd ed. London, 1991.

O

OPPERMAN, Diederik Johannes (*Geduld no. 2, near Dannhauser, Dundee district, 29 September 1914—†Stellenbosch, 22 September 1985), Afrikaans poet, dramatist and litterateur, was the eldest son of Diederik Johannes Opperman and his wife Heila Susanna Magdalena Botha.



Opperman spent his first years on the farm Stedham in the Black Umfolozi valley southeast of Vryheid. Here, with Zulu boys, he came to know the game, birds and plants of the region and made clay oxen. His parents had a decisive influence on him. His father studied spiritualism and painted in his spare time. In one of his paintings he depicted a coal mine explosion near Newcastle, which later featured in his son's poem 'Dennebol'. During World War I (1914–1918) financial circumstances forced his father to leave the farm and work in various towns in Natal until 1925.

Opperman initially attended school at Estcourt and Colenso where the medium of instruction was English. His high school career was interrupted when he and his brother had to farm on a smallholding to supplement the family income.

While at high school at Vryheid (1931–1934)—after attempts in English at primary school—Opperman wrote his first poems in Afrikaans. At Vryheid he was influenced by his teachers, especially the principal, P.C. Schoonees*, a well-known prose expert and later dictionary compiler, who placed his library at Opperman's disposal and introduced him to the critical reading of literature. During these years he wrote his first nature verses and love poems. In his matric year he handed in a story to Schoonees, entitled 'Die reënoffer', which so impressed the principal that he advised Opperman to have it published. It appeared in *Die huisgenoot* of 7 September 1934. At the end of 1934 he passed matric, achieving the best results in the Hoër Taalbond examination in Natal, which enabled him to study at the Natal University College in Pietermaritzburg.

While a student in Pietermaritzburg (1935–1939) he soon became close friends with two lecturers in Dutch, J.J. le Roux* and G.S. Nienaber. Already in 1935 he submitted to Nienaber a collection of poems written at school and

in 1937 another collection, entitled *Opwaartse drif*. On Nienaber's suggestion he submitted the latter manuscript to a publisher, but it was rejected. During these years his poems about the Black Umfolozi valley and city life, as well as his contemplative verse appeared in the *Natal University College magazine*, of which he was the editor-in-chief in 1938. Other poems appeared in *Die Saamwerk*, and he also wrote a regular column on books and art for *Die Natalse Afrikaner*. After an essay of his had been published in *Die huisgenoot* in 1938, he sent an increasing number of his poems to the magazine.

After completing the B.A. degree and the Higher Teacher's Diploma in 1937 and 1938 respectively, he was awarded the M.A. *cum laude* in 1939 for a dissertation on Afrikaans literary criticism until 1922. Based on this he was awarded the Victoria bursary to continue his studies in the Netherlands, but the outbreak of the Second World War (1939-1945) prevented this.

In 1940 he accepted a school teaching post at Voortrekker High School in Pietermaritzburg. He *inter alia* edited the school magazine, encouraged pupils with creative talent to submit their work to him, and he wrote the school song in 1944. During these years he wrote regular reviews and published a number of poems in *Die huisgenoot*. After being rejected for publication in 1943, *Heilige beeste*, a volume of poetry, appeared in May 1945. This debut collection elicited favourable reaction. Opperman broke with the themes of confession and religious struggle which characterized the early poetry of his immediate predecessors, the Dertiger poets (poets of the 1930s), N.P. van Wyk Louw* and his brother W.E.G. Louw*. Opperman's imagery also lent a strong sensuous quality to experience. The thematic motives of the volume were the earthly, woman and the 'Great Great Spirit'.

In July 1945 Opperman accepted a post at Helpmekeer High School in Johannesburg. He got to know the northern writers better during this time, although, with the exception of Elizabeth Eybers, he did not feel much affinity with them. In January 1946 he took up an editorial post with *Die huisgenoot* in Cape Town. Here he was to come into close contact with the publishing house of Nasionale Pers and the more stimulating group of authors in and around Cape Town.

Besides Fred lee Roux, the editor of *Die huisgenoot*, Opperman became acquainted with authors such as I.W. van der Merwe (Boerneef)*, I.D. du Plessis* and Uys Krige. He also had close contact with the Dutch poet Jan Greshoff*. He regularly met N.P. van Wyk Louw, at that time lecturer in the Faculty of Education at the University of Cape Town (UCT), and had fruitful conversations with him. His friendship with Fred lee Roux lasted throughout his life. Opperman showed him all his poem manuscripts and had great appreciation for his literary judgement.

Opperman's work at *Die huisgenoot* brought him into contact with authors to whom he was able to give valuable advice. He often encouraged younger writers and this led to the publication of the anthology *Stiebeuel I* in which he and Fred lee Roux included work of poets who had not yet published in book form. He started selecting manuscripts for Nasionale Pers and was invited to compile a series of anthologies of poetry for them.

In 1947 *Heilige beeste* was awarded the Hertzog prize for poetry by the

Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns (SAAWK) (South African Academy for Arts and Science). A second collection of poetry, *Negester oor Ninevé*, was published in 1947 and confirmed his poetic talent. In this collection the three basic motives of the debut volume were more closely integrated with the following conceptions: tension between heaven and earth, which was contained in the title; man's task to set the divine free from the 'primeval morass' through birth and allow God to appear in a perfect form; the eternal cycle of birth and death, the succession of generations and man having to give meaning to his ancestors; and approaching parenthood and the task awaiting the father in this regard. This volume was also enthusiastically received by the critics.

In 1949 Opperman became a lecturer in the Department of Afrikaans and Dutch at UCT. In this position and later at the University of Stellenbosch (US) he influenced numerous students of literature. Among his UCT students were Roswitha Geggus (Schutte), Adam Small, Rialette Wichahn, Edith Raidt and Breyten Breytenbach. In 1954 he was promoted to senior lecturer and during the years 1952 to 1959 he twice received a research award from the university.

The years in Cape Town were Opperman's most productive. In *Joernaal van Jorik* (1949), the story of Jorik can be interpreted as an allegory of the modern Afrikaner as he was shaped by national history as well as by 20 centuries of world history. The narration spanned the birth of the Afrikaner nation through to a prophetic vision of a future republic. The life span of the individual in the poem can also be interpreted as a vision of mankind between Genesis and Revelations, between the origin of man and his apocalyptic end, from his emergence through the centuries, until his becoming part of the earth and finally returning to the water from which he came to 'account' for his life.

In 1950 the volume *Engel uit die klip* appeared, in which the tension between the divine and the earthly featured once more, but now with the emphasis on the redemption motif. The main accent in the collection was on the task of the artist. This motif tied in with ideas of transformation, identification and redemption which refined Ovid's idea of the taking on of other forms.

In 1951 the anthologies *Junior verseboek*, *Senior verseboek* and *Groot verseboek* appeared, and in 1954 *Lied van die land*. Opperman's association with Nasionale Boekhandel became closer and virtually all poetry of this publishing house went through his hands. From 1950 to 1955 he was also editorial secretary of *Standpunte*. He transformed the journal by including besides Afrikaans and Dutch work also English contributions and nominating an English editor for this purpose; by regularly publishing chronicles on literature by literary historians; and by obtaining the co-operation of young poets and critics.

In 1952 Opperman received the degree of D.Litt. from UCT for a study on the poetry of the thirties, published the following year as *Digters van dertig*.

Opperman was proud of being an Afrikaner but was critical of the series of apartheid laws of the fifties and especially perturbed by the alienation of the coloureds which arose from that. He found it difficult to reconcile the limitations of Afrikaner nationalism with the artist's desire for identification

with others and aloofness from popular conceptions, including ideologies.

After the appearance of *Digtors van dertig* Opperman embarked on a new genre which had long interested him—the verse play. His first play, *Periandros van Korinthe* (1954), dealt with Periandros, the despotic ruler of Corinth in the sixth century before Christ. The drama received the W.A. Hofmeyr prize and in 1957 the Hertzog prize for drama. A second verse play, *Vergelegen* (1956), was based on the regime of W.A. van der Stel* at the Cape. His fourth volume of poetry, *Blom en baaierd*, also appeared in 1954. Although the tension between heaven and earth was still a dominant motif, many of the poems in the first part of the volume reflected the South African 'colour' reality, while suffering on a more universal level was investigated in the second half. There was also reflection on the task of the poet, while 'Kroniek van Kristien' took the motif of identification and redemption to a climax in Opperman's work.

In 1956 to 1957 he and his wife toured Europe, an experience which was later reflected in his poems. After his return to South Africa he compiled the anthologies *Kleuterverseboek* and *Klein verseboek* and in 1959 he brought his critical essays together in *Wiggelstok*.

In the middle of 1959 Opperman became professor at US. When students in their second and third years were given the option to specialize in either literature or linguistics Opperman seized it as an opportunity to realize an ideal: to start a workshop or laboratory where he could advise students about their creative work, where students could learn by analysing one another's work and where they could gradually develop into independent poets. Students who emerged from this literary laboratory as poets in their own right included Lina Spies, Fanie Olivier, Leon Strydom and Marlene van Niekerk.

In 1962 Opperman became a director of the publishing firm Human & Rousseau. He acted as a selector of most of the firm's literary publications and as planner of large projects such as the series *Blokboeke oor die Afrikaanse en Nederlandse letterkunde* of which he became the editor. This meant that he was advisor for and selector of new work of authors such as Etienne Leroux, André P. Brink, Jan Rabie and Antjie Krog. He also took a strong stand against censorship of South African publications during the sixties and seventies.

Opperman was twice honoured by fellow litterateurs by means of special birthday volumes. On his fiftieth birthday in 1964 he was presented with an anthology *Kort reis na Carrara* edited by A.P. Grové, who also edited a collection of critical essays handed to him on his sixtieth birthday in 1974, entitled *Dolosgooier van die woord*. On the latter occasion he was also presented with a special anthology, *Woord en wederwoord*, edited by Merwe Scholtz, and another by Koos Human, *Verse vir Opperman*.

He continued his prodigious productivity and published selections from the work of Gustav Preller* (*Eerstelinge*, 1961), H.A. Mulder* (*Laaste opstelle*, 1961) and P.C. Schoonees (*Die tweede verdieping*, 1962); together with Fred lee Roux a selection from the work of younger poets under the title *Stiebeuel II* (1965); and with C.J.M. Nienaber a selection of Dutch and Afrikaans poetry (*Dubbelloop*, 1966). Many of his own essays were published in *Naaldekokor* (1974) and *Verspreide opstelle* (1977).

Shortly after his arrival at Stellenbosch the anthologies *Astrak* and *D.J.*

Opperman: 'n keur uit sy gedigte appeared in 1960. *Dolosse* (1963) contained many sombre poems with a cheerless future vision. Many concentrated on the nature of the Afrikaner nation's doom, as well as that of Western civilization, and mankind in its degeneration. For this volume he was awarded the Central News Agency (CNA) and W.A. Hofmeyr prizes. *Kuns-mis* (1964) included a collection of poems which often commented satirically on conditions and in which pun, ambiguity and the like were often used. In *Voëlvry* (1968), a verse play dealing with the history of Louis Tregardt's* trek, he posed questions about the meaning of the Afrikaner nation. He was awarded the Hertzog prize for this drama in 1969. In 1968 he published, together with a number of co-workers, *Gees van die wingerd* which dealt with the wine culture from its origin and spread to South Africa, to its reflection in art and literature and the companionship and the use of wine.

In 1976 Opperman became seriously ill with jaundice and eventually liver failure which caused him to go into comas. His recovery heralded a new joyful period in his life. On his seventy-fifth birthday he was presented with a special edition of *Standpunte*, a facsimile edition of the *Joernaal van Jorik* documents (*Die galeie van Jorik*), and a retrospective view of his work by J.C. Kanne-meyer, entitled *Kroniek van klip en ster*. His experience during his illness led to the stimulating new volume *Komas uit 'n bamboesstok* which was published in June 1979. The first impression of 2 000 copies were sold out within ten days and until June 1981 the volume was reprinted three times with a total impression of 8 580 copies. It was the most phenomenal sales figure achieved by any Afrikaans volume of poetry in such a short time.

At the end of 1979 Opperman retired as professor but was appointed as special lecturer for the literary laboratory, a post he held for one year. A light stroke in August 1980 was followed by a serious one in June 1981. This left him partly paralysed and his speech seriously impaired. He died more than four years later.

Opperman held honorary doctorates from the universities of Natal, Stellenbosch, Cape Town and Pretoria. In October 1983 he received the honorary membership of the SAAWK, in 1984 the Decoration for Meritorious Service from the State President, and in 1985 the Gustav Preller prize for Literary Criticism.

In April 1942 Opperman married Marié van Reenen. They had three daughters.

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[1973?]; — A.P. GROVÉ (red.), *Woord en wederwoord*. Pretoria, 1974; — C.J.M. NIENABER, *Oor literatuur: opstelle oor letterkunde en kritiek. I*. Pretoria, 1974; — M. SCHOLTZ, *Herout van die Afrikaanse poësie en ander opstelle*. Kaapstad, 1975; — D.J. OPPERMAN, *Verspreide opstelle*. Kaapstad, 1977; — C.J.M. NIENABER, *Oor literatuur: opstelle oor letterkunde en kritiek. 2*. Pretoria, 1977; — E. VAN HEERDEN, *Digterlike diagnose*. Kaapstad, 1977; — J.C. KANNEMEYER, *Konfrontasies: letterkundige opstelle en kritiek, 1961–1975*. Kaapstad, 1977; — M. SCHOLTZ, *Die teken as teiken: opstelle oor beduidende Afrikaanse literatuur*. Kaapstad, 1978; — A.P. GROVÉ, *Dagsoom*. Kaapstad, 1978; — L. SPIES, *Ontmoetings*. Kaapstad, 1979; — J. DU P. SCHOLTZ, *Oor skilders en skrywers*. Kaapstad, 1979; — E. LINDENBERG (red.), *Inleiding tot die Afrikaanse letterkunde*. Pretoria, 1980; — G.S. NIENABER (red.), *Perspektief en profiel: 'n geskiedenis van die Afrikaanse letterkunde*. Johannesburg, 1982; — J.C. KANNEMEYER, *Geskiedenis van die Afrikaanse literatuur, II*. Pretoria, 1983; — Obituaries: *Beeld*, 23 & 24 September 1985; *Die Burger*, 23, 24 & 27 September 1985; *Die Volksblad*, 23 September 1985; *Oosterlig*, 23 September 1985; *The Argus*, 23 & 24 September 1985; *The Cape Times*, 23 & 24 September 1985; *The Star*, 23 September 1985; *Pretoria News*, 27 September 1985; *Rapport*, 29 September 1985; *Transvaler*, 3 Oktober 1985; — J.C. KANNEMEYER, *D.J. Opperman: 'n biografie*. Kaapstad, 1986; T.T. CLOETE, Huldiging aan D.J. Opperman, 1913–1985. *Tydskrif vir geesteswetenskappe*, 26(1), Maart 1986.

P

POCOCK, Mary Agard (Mamie) (*Rondebosch, Cape Town, 31 December 1886—†Grahamstown, 20 July 1977), algologist and botanist, was the eldest child of William Frederick Henry Pocock and his wife, Elizabeth Lydia Dacom.



Pocock's interest in science was first stirred by her father's work as a druggist and pharmacist, but her schooldays, from 1899, in the English countryside at Bedford High School for Girls and Cheltenham Ladies' College developed her devotion to botany. From Cheltenham she obtained the University of London B.Sc. in botany, geology and mathematics in 1908 and a teaching diploma in 1911. After teaching from 1909 to 1913 at Pate's Gram-

mar School in Cheltenham, she returned to South Africa to teach at Wynberg Girls' High School in Cape Town for four years.

Pocock subsequently left for Cambridge, England, for further studies, but as it did not award degrees to women at that stage, she obtained the B.Sc. (Hons) degree in 1921 from the University of London. Back in South Africa she lectured at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in 1923 and commenced a varied programme of assisting as relief lecturer at the botany departments of the Huguenot University College in Wellington and the University of Cape Town (UCT), as well as at Rhodes University (RU) in Grahamstown, where she was head of the department at one time. At RU she and Miss E. Archibald were instrumental in founding the University Herbarium in 1942.

In 1925 Pocock and Dorothea F. Blee(c)k* undertook a venturesome six months' safari on foot and by *machila* (a type of litter). They travelled from Livingstone in Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) across to the railhead near Luanda in Angola. Her plant collections and watercolours have added much to the botanical knowledge of this area. From 1927 she studied the genus *Volvox*, a green colonial alga, and obtained the Ph.D. degree from the UCT in 1932 for a thesis on it. She was awarded a fellowship as International Residential Scholar at Crosby Hall in Britain. This enabled her to continue her research on freshwater algae in 1936 and 1937, studying under and working with eminent scholars. During August and September of that year she undertook an extended

tour of Europe. She visited botanists in Germany (Marburg, Tübingen and Freiburg im Breisgau), Czechoslovakia (Prague), Russia (Moscow, the university in Kharkov, and Kiev), and collected material for her studies in countries like Belgium and Poland. During her visit in Britain she delivered several lectures, amongst others at the Linnean Society of London at the beginning of 1937.

During the Second World War (1939–1945) Pocock was a member of the South African Women's Auxiliary Services. After the war, speedy air transport allowed her to visit many algological friends with whom she had kept up a lively, extensive correspondence. She collected seaweeds wherever she went and the collection she accumulated from travels to Australia, Brazil, Britain and Canada through to Zanzibar is perhaps the best in the Southern Hemisphere and is housed in the Albany Museum, Grahamstown.

A Fellow of both the Linnean Society of London and the Royal Society of South Africa, Pocock attended several international botanical congresses and was elected a vice-president of the eleventh congress at Seattle in the United States of America (USA) in 1969. The Council for Scientific and Industrial Research awarded her a study and travel grant for work in the USA and Australia. During the visit in the USA she met Dr M.S. Cave of Berkeley, California, and they jointly published studies on chromosomes of algae. Her publications numbered over 30 and they all dealt with algae—at first fresh-water, but later marine species.

Pocock was a lively teacher, and her interests included gardening, history, photography, watercolour painting, sculpting and brass rubbing, examples of which are in the Albany Museum. She supported strongly the South African Association of University Women (SAAUW), was elected as first president of the Grahamstown branch in 1955 and was later made an honorary member. In 1957 she received the Crisp medal and award of the Royal Society of South Africa. In her honour the Grahamstown branch of the SAAUW established, for women, a postgraduate bursary for scientific study, and in 1967 she was given an honorary D.Sc. degree by RU. She is commemorated in many plant names, including the algal genus *Pocockiella*, and algal species such as *Codium pocockiae*, *Thamnophyllis pocockiae* and *Vanvoorstia pocockiae*.

For many years Pocock was an examiner for the Cape Matriculation Board, and later a moderator. She never married.

Rhodes University Herbarium, Grahamstown: Archives; — Albany Museum Herbarium, Grahamstown: Pocock collection, S.C. TROUGHTON, *Four years with the Pocock collection*. Typescript report, 1969; — M.A. POCOCK, Report of International Residential Scholar at Crosby Hall, 1935–36. Fresh water algae. *The bluestocking*, 8(3), July 1938; — News of members: [Dr Pocock]. *The bluestocking*, 30(3), April 1965; — *Honoris causa*: Mary A. Pocock, Rhodes University, 1967; — A. JACOT GUILLARMOD, *The bluestocking*, 31(3), 1977; — Obituary: *Grocott's Mail*, 19 July 1977; *The bluestocking*, 31(4), 1978; — M.R.B. LEVYNS, *Insar'd with flow'rs: the memoirs of a great South African botanist*; edited by J.E.P. Levyns. Kirstenbosch, 1977; — Private information: Mrs A. Evans (niece), Grahamstown; Dr J.V.L. Rennie (executor of Mary Pocock's will), Grahamstown.

POKELA, John Nyati (*Herschel district, Cape Province, 1923—†Harare, Zimbabwe, 30 June 1985), teacher and prominent political leader. Very little is known about his early or his private life. He received his training at Healdtown Institution, a Methodist boarding school near Fort Beaufort in the Eastern Cape—where he first met Robert Sobukwe*—and at the South African Native College (University of Fort Hare). He qualified as a teacher and for a while taught with Robert Sobukwe at Standerton. He remained a teacher until 1957 when he was expelled for his political activities.



His political involvement started when he joined the Youth League (CYL) of the African National Congress (ANC). Pokela was especially influenced by Ashley Mda and Sobukwe. Both were orthodox African nationalists *par excellence*, and Pokela identified himself with the Africanist wing of the ANC. In 1952 for instance, as a member of the Bureau for African Nationalism in the Eastern Cape, he criticized the participation of non-blacks in the Defiance Campaign. After he had moved to the Transvaal he became a member of the secret Africanist Central Committee. After the Africanists had split from the ANC in 1958 he joined the recently established Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC). During the PAC annual congress in December 1959 he was a member of the resolution committee that formulated the historical decision to launch an anti-pass campaign. This campaign led to the Sharpeville shootings and the banning of the PAC in 1960.

In 1963 Pokela left South Africa and joined the PAC in exile in Basutoland (Lesotho). He was speedily accepted by the PAC President's Council and was appointed as acting secretary-general in the place of P.K. Leballo who became acting chairperson. Pokela was arrested in South Africa in 1966 but alleged that he had been abducted to South Africa by an agent of the South African Police. He was tried in Grahamstown on charges that he planned to murder whites in East London and that he had attacked a police station in King William's Town. He was sentenced to thirteen years' imprisonment under the Sabotage Act, and seven years under the Suppression of Communism Act. He served his sentence on Robben Island.

Pokela was released in May 1980 and restricted to Sterkspruit in the Herschel district of Transkei. In January 1981 he disappeared from his home and secretly arrived in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. A month later, at the request of both the internal and external wings of the PAC, he took over the leadership of the organization. He also became chairperson of the internal PAC Unity Committee who had to solve outstanding questions after the suspension of Leballo. During 1982 there was still friction in the PAC, with one faction supporting Pokela and the other faction supporting Leballo. In due course Pokela succeeded in settling the internal differences in the PAC and was able to revive the organization. He was in favour of eventual unity with the ANC.

As the PAC leader he addressed meetings and think-tanks right across the

world to explain his organization's aims and ideas and to recruit support for their attacks against white domination in South Africa. He was still president when, on a visit to Zimbabwe, he became ill and died. Pokela was buried in Harare with full military honours by the Zimbabwean government.

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S

SACHS, Emil Solomon (Solly) (*Kamaai, Lithuania, White Russia, 11 November 1900—†London, England, 30 July 1976), trade union leader, was the fourth of the five children of Abraham Saks (later changed to 'Sachs') and his wife, Hannah Rivkin. Sachs made up his own birthdate because, according to him, the correct date was not known.



Until the age of three Sachs was physically weak and had not yet learnt to speak, but at the age of four his condition improved and he became a lively child. He attended the *cheder*, the school at which Jewish children are taught Hebrew, where he was noted for his knowledge of the Talmud and the Pentateuch. Soon he was the best pupil in Kamaai.

In 1914 the Sachs family arrived in South Africa and settled in Ferreirasdorp, Johannesburg. The local rabbi was so impressed with Sachs's knowledge of the Talmud that he attempted to send him back to Kamaai, but this was prevented by the outbreak of the First World War (1914–1918). At school Sachs did not support the pro-British sentiments.

After completing Standard 5 he left school and began working as an assistant in a shop for blacks. During this time he organized the shop assistants on the Rand into a trade union. At the time of its collapse in 1926 he was its honorary secretary. In the meantime he studied privately to pass matric. When he had earned enough money, he established a boarding house.

His interest in politics increased and was characterized by a strong aversion to the National Party (NP); he was, however, drawn towards socialism. He established a group which studied the writings of, amongst others, Marx and Stalin, whom he admired greatly. In 1919 he had already joined the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA, South African Communist Party (SACP) after 1953), and in 1921 he was among the first to join the Communist Youth League. He studied engineering at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in 1924, but went to the Soviet Union for six months during the following year to study world revolutionary movements. He also made an in-depth study of British trade unions. On returning to South Africa he registered at the University of the Witwatersrand to study law, English and economics.

Trade unionism once again held Sachs's interest. In 1926 he was elected to

the national executive committee of the South African Trades and Labour Council (SATLC). Through the Witwatersrand Middlemen Tailors' Association, of which he became part-time secretary in March 1927, he in 1928 became secretary of the Tailors' Association which then had 1 750 members. Women workers were not represented on any union committees, and as Sachs always took the side of the underdog and consequently had great sympathy with the poor living and working conditions of the numerous Afrikaner girls from the rural areas who came to work in the garment industry on the Rand during the depression, he became secretary of the Garment Workers' Union of South Africa (GWU) in November 1928. This union, under the guidance of Sachs who himself adhered to a militant trade union policy, became the most active and controversial trade union of its time. Sachs worked in close co-operation with Anna Scheepers and Johanna Cornelius*, who also held leading positions in the GWU.

Sachs led several strikes, including two general strikes by the GWU in 1931 and 1932. The latter was to protest a proposed wage decrease and caused much disruption. The Minister of Justice, Oswald Pirow*, had Sachs arrested and banned for twelve months. Gen. J.C. Smuts*, however, revoked this order when he succeeded Pirow six months later.

After his banishment Sachs went overseas for several months. He was to be deported from Southampton, England, when he landed, but the British Trade Union Council intervened and the order was revoked. He then visited Germany and obtained the rights to show German and Russian films in South Africa. He and his brother Benny founded a film company which brought meritorious films to the South African circuit.

Owing to his interest in industrial legislation Sachs, as a member of the SATLC, gave evidence before the Industrial Legislation Commission in 1935. Amongst other things the trade union movement was pressing for legislation to assist the unemployed and the first Unemployment Act followed in 1939 but did not cover the clothing and other industries. Sachs then succeeded in establishing a fund through the Industrial Council for the Clothing Industry (Transvaal), which operated until the new Unemployment Insurance Act of 1946 covered the industry. In 1944 he was instrumental in getting the Industrial Council for the Clothing Industry to request a Supreme Court definition of 'employee' in the Industrial Conciliation Act. The matter in question concerned the reference to pass-bearing persons who were excluded from the definition of 'employee' and therefore could not be members of registered unions. As African women did not then carry such passes, it was held that they were employees and could be members of the union. The government then amended the law so as to exclude African women from the definition of 'employee'. Sachs had already established the South African Clothing Workers' Union in 1928 which consisted of African men. That union did not want to admit African women, so Sachs then established a separate union for them.

As a confirmed socialist Sachs found that his views were often strongly opposed by the CPSA. It was felt that his contribution to the party was negative and he was accused of sabotaging the revolutionary activities of the trade unions. In 1931 he was expelled from the party. Although he was furious

about his expulsion, he remained a loyal supporter of the Communist International. Despite his expulsion Sachs was still labelled a communist. During the 1948 election the NP emphasized the communist threat and especially the role of Sachs in the GWU.

Sachs also took part in active politics. During the general election of 1943 he stood as the Independent Party's candidate in the Jeppe constituency. Although this was a workers' constituency in which lived more than 1 500 members of the GWU, Sachs only managed to obtain 475 votes. In 1946 he became a member of the South African Labour Party and in 1952 he was elected national treasurer.

On 19 May 1952 C.R. Swart*, Minister of Justice, served two notices on Sachs in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act (1950). The first was an order to resign as an official of the GWU within 30 days. It also prohibited him from participating in the activities of various organizations. The second restricted his movements to the Transvaal and prohibited him from attending any meetings other than religious, recreational and social gatherings. The GWU consequently arranged a protest meeting for the following Saturday, 24 May 1952, on the steps of the Johannesburg City Hall. Here Sachs addressed 15 000 people. He was arrested and appeared in court the following Monday. The case was postponed and again he attempted to address a mass meeting of garment workers who had gone on strike in front of the city hall. He was rearrested and released on bail a day later. In July 1952 he was found guilty on two charges and sentenced to six months' forced labour on each. His appeal against the sentence, which he argued himself, was dismissed on 2 September 1952, but the sentence was suspended for two years.

Sachs consequently left South Africa on 30 January 1953 and settled in England. He stated that his position in South Africa had become untenable. The University of Manchester awarded him the Simon Senior Research Fellowship for a period of two years. Later the University of London offered him a research post for a year, but other than that he had no regular income. In the late 1950s the British Labour Party asked him to stand as their candidate for the Hallam constituency in Sheffield, but he was unsuccessful.

In Britain Sachs continued his opposition to the South African government. He demonstrated outside South Africa House against the detention of his son, Albert (Albie), amid much publicity. In March 1961 he took part in the public protest against the government action at Sharpeville. He wrote several books about South Africa, namely *The choice before South Africa* (1952), *The rebel's daughters* (also called *Garment workers in action*) (1957), the history of the GWU, and together with L. Forman *The South African treason trial* (1959) and *The anatomy of apartheid* (1965).

In 1926 Sachs married Ray Ginsberg who worked as a stenographer for Hjalmar Reitz*. They had two sons of whom Albert (Albie) was a lawyer for the defence of a number of persons who had been charged under the Suppression of Communism Act and other similar laws. Albert was also banned, and in 1988 narrowly escaped a car-bomb death in Maputo, Mozambique, where he lived. The marriage was dissolved in 1942. Sachs then married Dulcie Hartwell. They had a son and a foster son, and were divorced in 1951.

Trade union personalities, 5: E.S. Sachs. [S.l., 19-]; — *The garment worker*, March-April 1949; May-June 1952; — *The Friend*, 21 May 1952; — *The Star*, 23 June 1952; 5 August 1952; 2 September 1952; — B. SACHS, *South African personalities and places*. Johannesburg, 1959; — *The Rand Daily Mail*, 15 June 1971; — L. GERBER, *Friends and influence: the diplomacy of private enterprise*. Cape Town, 1973; — Obituaries: *The Star*, 31 July 1976; *The Times* [London], 31 July 1976; *The Cape Times*, 3 August 1976; *The Sunday Times*, 8 August 1976; — R.M. IMRIE, *A wealth of people: the story of the Trade Union Council of South Africa*. Johannesburg, 1979; — D. HARRISON, *The white tribe of Africa: South Africa in perspective*. London, 1981; — Private information: Miss Dulcie Hartwell (ex-wife), Cape Town; Miss Anna Scheepers, (president, Garment Workers' Union, 1958–1984), Johannesburg.

SAUER, Magdalena Gertruide (Magda) (*Kenilworth, Cape Town, 6 May 1890—†Claremont, Cape Town, 10 October 1983), was the first woman in South Africa to practise as a qualified architect.



The second child of Jacobus W. Sauer*, politician and cabinet minister, and his wife Mary Cloete, she grew up partly in Kenilworth during parliamentary sessions and partly on the farm Uitkyk in the Stellenbosch district. She matriculated from the Bloemhof Girls' High School in Stellenbosch, winning the Queen Victoria Memorial Prize in 1906, and enrolled as a student at the South African College (University of Cape Town) in 1907. She graduated Bachelor of Arts (Science) in 1911,

majoring in mathematics, physics and dynamics.

Later she decided to take architecture and for a while worked as a trainee with Gordon Pilkington* in Durban. She realized, however, that a proper professional qualification was essential and went to England in the 1920s, where she studied at the Architectural Association's School of Architecture in Bedford Square, London. She received a diploma and returned to practise in South Africa, registering with the Institute of South African Architects on 19 December 1927.

She practised mainly as a domestic architect but was keenly interested in the preservation and restoration of old buildings. Sauer, in conjunction with a colleague Reg de Smidt, was responsible for the restoration of a section of the Malay Quarter in the late 1940s. Her last assignment was the transformation of the Old Supreme Court in Adderley Street into the South African Cultural History Museum in the early 1960s. She managed to retain the character of the building while making certain adaptations to suit the needs of a museum. The building was proclaimed an historical monument in 1967.

Her interest in art led to friendships with many of the early Cape Town artists, among them her cousin Harry Stratford Caldecott* and his wife Florence Zerffi*, P.A.W. (Nita) Spilhaus*, Pieter W.F. Wenning*, Wolf Kibel*, Maud Sumner*, Moses Kotler* and the cartoonist D.C. Boonzaaier*. She herself painted as a talented amateur. She was for many years the art critic for *Die Burger* and was a well-known and respected figure in Cape art circles.

Her parents, very much part of the Cape political milieu, kept open house and she met and knew most of the leading political figures of the day, including J.B.M. Hertzog*, J.X. Merriman*, J. Rose Innes* and Colonel F.H.P. Cresswell*.

Later, through her brother Paul O. Sauer*, she became acquainted with the next generation of politicians and maintained an interest in current affairs and politics throughout her life. Her incisive mind and highly individual style made her a fascinating and informative companion or a formidable adversary. She was an expert bridge player and a knowledgeable gardener and kept up both these hobbies well into her eighties.

She was married briefly to Trygve Strömsöe*, the Norwegian engineer responsible for building the Table Mountain Cableway. They had one daughter Karin Strömsöe, an artist and book illustrator.

University of Cape Town, Jagger Library Manuscripts and Archives Section for Register of Students 1900–1910; List of Alumni 1916; — W. RITCHIE, *The history of the South African College*, 2. Cape Town, 1918; — R.F.M. IMMELMAN & G.D. QUINN (eds), *The preservation and restoration of historic buildings in South Africa: a symposium*. Cape Town, 1968; — W. SCHNEEWIND, Cultural History Museum, South African. In: *Standard encyclopaedia of Southern Africa*, 3. Cape Town, 1971; — Obituary: *Die Burger*, 10 Oktober 1983; — Private information: Miss Karin Strömsöe (daughter), Cape Town; Mr Hugh Floyd; The Institute of South African Architects.

SIBEKO, David Maphumzana (*Sophiatown, Johannesburg, 26 August



1938—†Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, 12 June 1979), insurance agent, journalist and politician. He received his schooling at the St Cyprian's Anglican School in Sophiatown, and the Johannesburg Bantu High School (sometimes called Western High, and after 1963 Madibane High School). After leaving school he went to work for *Drum*, initially as switchboard operator, but later as a reporter. In 1958 he became an insurance agent. (Some sources give his second name as 'Pumzile'.)

Sibeko joined the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) during the state of emergency after the banning of the organization in 1960. He soon became chairperson of the PAC in the Vaal River area and made a substantial contribution to the recruitment of members and the revival of PAC branches in Sharpeville, Vanderbijlpark, Sasolburg and Carletonville.

In 1960 Sibeko returned to *Drum* as columnist, also reporting for *Post* (*Golden City Post*). In 1963 he was arrested in terms of the Sabotage Act and held in detention for seven months. After a two-week trial he was acquitted and released. Sibeko then left South Africa and joined the PAC in exile in Tanzania.

Sibeko was subsequently sent to the People's Republic of China on a course in revolutionary journalism. After six months (some sources mention three

months) he returned and became the PAC's chief representative in East Africa. In addition he was the organization's contact person with the Freedom Committee of the Organization of African Unity. In 1968 Sibeko was appointed head of the PAC's mission to Europe and the Americas. He was responsible for the establishment of new PAC offices in various countries. In 1974 Sibeko became the PAC's permanent observer at the United Nations. In this capacity he was the first representative of a South African anti-apartheid movement to address the Security Council of the United Nations. During his stay in the United States of America he tirelessly attended the meetings of anti-apartheid groups and in speech after speech called for support for the South African blacks' struggle against oppression.

In 1975 Sibeko became a member of the PAC's central committee and was appointed director of foreign affairs. He always acted in this capacity at international meetings. On 12 September 1978—exactly a year after the death of the Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko*—Sibeko took part in a ceremony held by the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid to pay homage to Biko. Sibeko completely identified with Biko's opinions. In his homage to Biko he said that it was essential to free the black man from his inferiority complex. From then on he believed that no measure of sacrifice would be too great in the liberation struggle of the 'people of Azania', and that eventually they would triumph in the political struggle. The PAC's use of force was defended thus by him: "To kill for our freedom is correct ... because reactionary violence must be answered with revolutionary violence."

Sibeko was closely involved with the removal of P.K. Leballo from the PAC leadership in 1979. He was a member of the triumvirate, known as the President's Council, that shared the chairpersonship of the organization after the palace revolution. Mutual distrust within the PAC leadership was, however, the order of the day and Sibeko fell victim to this distrust when he was ambushed and shot dead by assassins from his own group. He was buried in Gaborone, Botswana.

He was survived by his wife Elizabeth and their four children.

Obituaries: *The Rand Daily Mail*, 13 & 22 June, 2 July 1979; *The Star*, 13 June 1979; — *Azania combat* (various editions); — T. LODGE, *Black politics in South Africa since 1945*. Johannesburg, 1983; — J. SCHADEBERG (comp. & ed.), *The fifties people of South Africa*. [S.I.], 1987; — *Makers of modern Africa: profiles in history*. 2nd ed. London, 1991.

SINGH, Ansuyah Ratipul (*Durban, 12 June 1917—†Durban, 27 November 1978), medical doctor and community worker, poet, dramatist and novelist. Singh was the eldest daughter of Latchmee and Chatrapul Ratipul Singh, an average middle-class Hindu couple. Her father served most of his working life at the firm of Malcomess in the accounts department. However, what distinguished this family from so many other contemporary Indian families, was the fact that in an age when it was considered inappropriate to send girls to high school, the Singhs sent all three their daughters to the Durban Indian Girls' School (Durban Girls' Secondary School) in Dartnell Crescent—the first Indian high school for girls. Singh was among the first group of five Indian girls to



matriculate in South Africa in 1935. From 1936 she studied medicine at the University of Edinburgh, Scotland, where she qualified in 1944. After that she worked for two years in hospitals in London, England.

On her return to South Africa Singh initially opened a private practice in Durban. In 1956 she became the first Indian woman graduate to be appointed to the Natal Provincial Administration, serving jointly in the Department of Social, Preventative and Family Medicine at the University of Natal's Medical School and the Institute of Family and Community Health (Clairwood Hospital). In the same year she filled a position in the Department of Gynaecology and Obstetrics at the Medical School. In 1959 she was in charge of the antenatal clinic at the King Edward Hospital in Durban. In 1963 she founded the Happy Valley Clinic where she and volunteers such as Mrs A. Nair worked in their spare time among the poor living in that area. Subsequently branches of the clinic were opened in Inanda and Phoenix. (All these clinics were eventually replaced by *inter alia* the Merebank Clinic and the clinic at the Phoenix Community Centre.)

Singh continued with studies and research and in 1954 became the first Indian to be awarded a bursary by the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research. During 1961-1962 she wrote the dissertation *Epidemiological study of blood pressure in Indian women in South Africa* for the Diploma in Public Health of the University of Natal. Other publications included: *A survey of hospitals, clinics and social services for the Indian community of Durban* (1960), and *Emotional factors affecting foetal development* which received wide acclaim in the United States of America. She was co-author of several articles, for example 'Antenatal stress and the baby's development' in *Archives of disease in childhood* of February 1961, and 'Intracranial meningioma in a 13-year old male' in the *South African medical journal*, December 1964.

Singh also made a contribution to the arts. She was an accomplished pianist and particularly fond of Bach and Beethoven. Furthermore, she was a talented amateur actress and took part in many dramatic productions during the years 1948 to 1958. These productions included Rabindranath Tagore plays such as *Natir Puja*, the latter being a highly demanding role requiring acting and dancing abilities. She also took a leading role in *Sakuntalâ* by Kâlidâsa.

She published several literary works with a social or political message and commentaries on the contemporary scene. In 1960, the year of the centenary celebrations of the arrival of the Indians in South Africa, she published a novel, *Behold the earth mourns*—said to be the first novel by an Indian author in South Africa. She also published two three-act plays—*Cobwebs in the garden* and *A tomb for thy kingdom* (both 1966). Over the years many of her poems were published in journals, and in 1970 an anthology of poems, short stories and essays was published under the title *Summer moonbeams on the lake*.

Singh lectured widely to students and the general public on topics ranging

from health and family planning, to the arts, and the role of women in the Indian community.

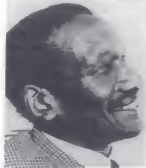
It is known that she was involved in the Passive Resistance Movement after her return to South Africa in 1946, but the extent of her political activity is unknown. It should be born in mind that at the time most educated Indians were involved in some way or another in political activities, many being arrested.

Near the Tongaat Town Hall there is a bronze statue of her as a dancing girl—from her role in *Natir Puja*. Two portraits of her were also commissioned.

During the Second World War (1939–1945) Singh married Bronislav Sedzimer, a Pole. One daughter, Urvashi, was born of the marriage. When Singh returned to South Africa in 1946 he did not accompany her and later in the same year the couple were divorced. In 1948 she married a lawyer, Ashwin Choudree, who had recently returned from the United Nations in New York where he represented the South African Indians and acted as advisor to the representative of the Indian government. He predeceased Singh in 1969. Singh was survived by her sisters and her daughter who, like her mother, studied medicine in Britain and then settled in London.

At home with Dr Ansuyah Singh. *The South African Woman's Weekly* (supplement to *The Natal Mercury*), 19 November 1964; — A woman's world: Dr Ansuyah Singh. *Fiat lux*, 8(1), February 1973; — Obituaries: *The Natal Mercury*, 28 November 1978; *The Natal Witness*, 28 November 1978; *Post (Natal)*, 29 November–3 December 1978; — Private information: Mrs A. Nair (personal assistant), Durban.

SOBUKWE, Robert Mangaliso (Wonder) (*Graaff-Reinet, 5 December 1924—†Kimberley, 26 February 1978), Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) leader, was the youngest of the seven children of Hubert Sobukwe and Angelina Gaziys. His father, who had completed seven years of schooling, first worked for the local municipality and then in a store as wool sorter, while his mother, who had no formal schooling, first worked as a cook in the local hospital and then as a domestic servant for a white family. Sobukwe's father desired his children to achieve a higher level of education than he had. The importance of reading was stressed and both parents brought home books, either discarded by the local library or given them by their employers. Both parents were active in the local Methodist Church, and the children grew up in this environment.



Once Sobukwe began to attend school, he showed outstanding ability and won a scholarship to Healdtown Institution, a Methodist boarding school near Fort Beaufort in the Eastern Cape, where he remained for seven years. Sobukwe's academic record continued to be exemplary, while he also excelled in

sport, especially tennis and rugby. In August 1943 Sobukwe became seriously ill with tuberculosis and received treatment in Alice for the rest of that year. Early in 1944 he returned to Healdtown, continuing his studies and also becoming the Eastern Province singles tennis champion for blacks. During this time his leadership abilities became apparent: he was a senior prefect and in his final year he was appointed head boy.

In 1947, aided by funds from a scholarship and the principal of Healdtown, he entered the South African Native College (University of Fort Hare) from which he graduated in 1949. He studied native administration, a subject which acquainted him with the circumstances of his people. His interest in politics developed and he joined the African National Congress Youth League (CYL). He advanced the ideology of orthodox nationalism or Africanism which included the necessity for militancy, noncollaboration, African nationalism and "the liberation of Africa within our lifetime". In his final year (1949) he became president of the Students' Representative Council (SRC) and led the Fort Hare CYL delegation at the annual conference of the African National Congress (ANC). At the conference he persuaded the assembly to adopt a policy of political boycotts unless blacks were represented on all governing bodies and all bodies created specially for blacks were abolished. He also supported the Programme of Action adopted by the ANC in 1949. His election as secretary of the CYL, a strongly united well-administered association built up in the 1940s, was a milestone in his emerging political career.

At the farewell function for final-year students in 1949 Sobukwe criticized black adversaries of black unity, as well as all forms of white paternalism, including that of missionaries and professional liberals, and the regimentation of student thought by white authorities. When he refused to apologize, his bursaries from the church and the education department were withdrawn and a teaching appointment was cancelled.

After graduating from Fort Hare, Sobukwe started teaching at Standerton in the Transvaal in 1950. One of his colleagues was J.N. Pokela*, later a leader in the PAC. In 1952, after speaking in support of the Defiance Campaign, he was temporarily dismissed from his teaching position. He made a brief attempt to establish himself as a coal merchant before he was reinstated at his school. In 1954 he joined the Department of Bantu Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, as language assistant for Zulu. In 1959 Sobukwe was offered a lectureship in African languages at Rhodes University, Grahamstown, with pay and status equal to whites. Although it would have meant economic security, he could not meet the condition, namely that he should abstain from political activities. He therefore remained in his post as language assistant until 1960.

During the years in Johannesburg, Sobukwe's involvement in the African nationalist movement greatly increased. In 1957 he became editor of *The Africanist*. Although Sobukwe supported the 1949 Bloemfontein Programme of Action of the ANC, he and other younger members of the ANC were increasingly disenchanted with the movement. They felt that the ANC's policies had been obscured by the increasing financial aid from and subsequent political influence of the South African Communist Party in the ANC. Furthermore, the

Africanists felt that the increasing multiracial character of the ANC retarded the development of black consciousness and aspirations. Sobukwe and his supporters therefore did not accept the 1955 Kliptown Freedom Charter, which became the basic policy of the ANC, on the grounds that it made too many concessions to the whites, by whom it was dominated. The Africanists also opposed co-operation with the South African Indian Congress, the South African Coloured People's Organization, and the mainly white Congress of Democrats, and objected to the ANC's lack of militancy. Their active opposition was translated into action when they left the ANC in 1958 and founded the PAC. The PAC was formally launched on 6 April 1959 and Sobukwe was elected as its first president.

Sobukwe believed that it was essential for blacks to regain their self-respect and dignity. Only when other races respected them could blacks overcome racial discrimination. Sobukwe believed that blacks should liberate themselves. He therefore called on all the inhabitants of South Africa to commit themselves to Africa. He rejected all forms of white paternalism and colonialism, while stressing black self-regard and an African continental approach to the rest of the world. As a result of this philosophy, he was accused of racism. However, his political philosophy was never racist because he was committed to a nonracist and democratic society once the apartheid system had been destroyed. In order to promote the interests of the workers and the peasants in a nonracist and democratic society, he reached out towards socialism.

Due to the increasing support for the PAC, Sobukwe decided to organize an anti-pass campaign. Sobukwe believed that the removal of the infamous pass laws would be a major step in achieving the PAC's aims. As part of the campaign, mass anti-pass demonstrations were arranged for 21 March 1960. All blacks were urged to leave their passes at home and offer themselves for arrest at the nearest police station. While he himself led a group to the Orlando police station, the police fired on a group of protesters at Sharpeville and 67 people were killed. Subsequently both the ANC and the PAC were banned. Sobukwe, who was indicted for incitement, was sentenced to three years' hard labour which he served in various prisons until April 1961 when he was transferred to the Pretoria prison. Here he, amongst other things, sewed mailbags together with Nelson Mandela until the prison authorities decided that there should be no contact between the two men.

Towards the end of 1962 Poqo (the armed wing of the PAC) launched several attacks in which whites were killed. This alarmed the government. Though there was no indication that Sobukwe was still in control of the PAC when Poqo was founded, the government assumed that he was still a danger. Consequently, just before Sobukwe's release in May 1963, a law was passed that empowered the government to continue the detention of anybody found guilty of incitement. This law was re-enacted annually until 1968 and became known as the Sobukwe Clause.

Sobukwe was transferred from the prison in Pretoria to Robben Island. He was isolated from the other prisoners in a fenced-in area that was heavily guarded. He was allowed newspapers and, with an unlimited supply of books available, Sobukwe obtained the External B.Sc. (Economics) from the

University of London, England. He was, however, not allowed to talk to other prisoners although he could write one letter and receive two letters per week. He was allowed few visitors.

On 25 April 1969 it was announced that Sobukwe was to be released conditionally and banned to Kimberley for five years. This order was renewed for another five years in 1974. Although the authorities refused him permission to attend the consecration of his brother as an Anglican bishop in Johannesburg, Sobukwe, who had enrolled with the University of South Africa in 1970 to study law, was allowed in 1971 to enrol as an articled clerk with a law firm in Kimberley. He finally qualified as a lawyer in January 1975, and on 13 June 1975 was permitted to attend court.

After his release from prison, Sobukwe was interested in leaving South Africa because he believed it would enable his family to live a normal life. In March 1970 he accepted a research and teaching scholarship at the University of Wisconsin in the United States of America (USA). The South African government turned down his application for a passport and exit permit.

In May 1975 Sobukwe's mother died and he was permitted to travel to Umtata where she had died, and to Graaff-Reinet to attend the funeral, on condition that he report to the police on arrival in and departure from Umtata and Graaff-Reinet, and be back in Kimberley the day after the funeral. While travelling through King William's Town *en route* to Graaff-Reinet, Sobukwe visited Steve Biko* who was also under house arrest, but without police knowledge about the visit. Until Biko's death, they managed to exchange a number of messages. In 1975 Sobukwe was also visited by the American politician Andrew Young. Sobukwe made a great impression on Young who arranged to have Sobukwe's two eldest children educated in the USA. The third child followed suit soon afterwards. In December 1975 Sobukwe was invited to visit Liberia to attend the presidential celebrations of President William Tolbert in Monrovia in January 1976. Because of problems to gain permission to leave the Kimberley magisterial district and attain a passport, he could not attend.

In June 1977 Sobukwe started complaining about his health and was coughing badly. He was allowed to come to Johannesburg to be examined by Dr Bodo E.H. Koch, Ellen Hellmann's* husband. His health deteriorated to such an extent that he was admitted to the Groote Schuur Hospital, Cape Town, for chest surgery in September 1977. After the removal of a cancerous lung, he was frequently readmitted to hospital, but the cancer spread rapidly and he died in a Kimberley hospital.

Sobukwe married a nurse, Veronica Zodwa Mathe, whom he had met at Fort Hare, in Soweto on 6 June 1954. They had three sons and a daughter.

Sobukwe was an impressive personality, with considerable political influence internationally and locally. The University of Wisconsin and the Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, USA, awarded him an honorary doctorate. His organizing abilities and oratory skills made him a great leader. Despite his imprisonment and house arrest, he still had a powerful influence on South African politics. His philosophy of black awareness was one of the sources of inspiration for the Black Consciousness Movement under Steve Biko.

R. SEGAL, *Political Africa: a who's who of personalities and parties*. London, 1961; — L. NKOSI, Robert Sobukwe: an assessment. *Africa Report*, April 1962; — C. & M. LEGUM, *The bitter choice: eight South Africans' resistance to tyranny*. Cleveland, 1968; — Sobukwe chances are nil. *The Star*, 24 December 1975; — Obituaries: *The Argus*, 27 February 1978; *The Star*, 27 & 28 February 1978; *The Rand Daily Mail*, 27 & 28 February 1978; *Beeld*, 28 February 1978; *The Cape Times*, 28 February 1978; *South African outlook*, August 1978; — G.M. GERHART, *Black power in South Africa: the evolution of an ideology*. London, 1978; — M.R. LIPSCHUTZ & R.K. RASMUSSEN, *Dictionary of African historical biography*. 2nd ed., expanded & updated. Berkeley, Ca., 1989; — B. POGRUND, *Sobukwe and apartheid*. Johannesburg, 1990; — *Makers of modern Africa: profiles in history*. 2nd ed. London, 1991; — T. MOLEFE, Focus on Sobukwe. *Sowetan*, 25 February 1993; — Private information: Mrs Veronica Sobukwe (wife), Graaff-Reinet.

SONTONGA, Mankayi Enoch (fl. c.1897-c.1902), composer of 'Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika', choirmaster and teacher. Information on Sontonga is scarce and the sources differ.



He was probably born at Lovedale Institution at Alice in the Eastern Cape, in about 1875, into the Mpinga clan of the Tembu people. After completing a teacher training course at Lovedale Training College, the Methodist Church sent him per transport wagon to Johannesburg to be an assistant at a newly founded Methodist Church school at Nancefield near Johannesburg. He started teaching in either 1897 or 1899 and remained there till his death.

A staunch Methodist and endowed with a good voice, he came to the fore in the music of the church as well as the school. He was responsible for forming the Nancefield Methodist Church Choir and began composing songs for this choir and for his school choir whose pupil-songsters formed the nucleus of the church choir. Sontonga acted as choirmaster and conductor for these choirs who sung his songs at concerts in the Johannesburg townships to boost church funds. The songs became immensely popular.

Sontonga wrote his songs in tonic solfa notation. He taught the songs by rote with the aid of a tuning fork. Unfortunately these notations were lent out to fellow teachers and choirmasters by his widow after his death, and disappeared in the process.

Sontonga is today remembered for his song 'Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika' (God bless Africa). It is usually accepted that it was originally penned in outline as a hymn in 1897. It consisted of one verse in Xhosa, and was first performed in Johannesburg at the ordination of a Shangaan Methodist minister, the Rev. Bowen, in 1899. According to Skota (*infra*), Sontonga travelled to Durban with his choir where they performed his songs, including 'Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika', at a number of concerts. Here John Dube* of the Ohlanga Training Institute were so impressed by the songs that he asked for and was given permission to include them in his school choir's repertoire. R.T. Caluza* first heard 'Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika' in 1915 when he was on tour with his choir in

Johannesburg, and included it after that in their repertoire and popularized it.

The song was first recorded on 16 October 1923 by Solomon T. Plaatje* accompanied on the piano by Sylvia Colenso. The Xhosa poet S.E.K. Mqhayi* wrote a further seven verses. Lovedale Press published all these verses in 1927 in pamphlet form, also including the song in 1929 in its Presbyterian Xhosa hymn book *Ingwadi Yama-culo Ase-rabe*. The song has since been translated into many languages and in recent years has been adopted as national anthem by the former Republic of Transkei, Tanzania, Zambia and since May 1994 by South Africa.

The song made a strong impression on audiences since first being heard. Church gatherings and public meetings used it increasingly as a closing prayer. At the first meeting of the South African Native National Congress (SANNC, African National Congress (ANC) after 1923) on 8 January 1912, 'Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika' was sung immediately following the prayer. In 1925 the ANC officially adopted it as the closing anthem for its meetings.

Sontonga died young. The sources differ about the year of his death—1901, 1902 or 1904. It is, however, generally accepted that he died in Johannesburg where he was working at the time. He was married to Dinah Mqgibisa, a daughter of a prominent minister of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. It is not known how many children they had, though Skota mentions a son.

T.D.M. SKOTA (ed.), *The African who's who: an illustrated classified register and national biographical dictionary of the Africans in the Transvaal*. 3rd ed., rev. & enl. [Johannesburg, 1965]; — Y. HUSKISSON, *The Bantu composers of Southern Africa*. [Johannesburg], 1969; — J. JAHN, U. SCHILD & A. NORDMANN, *Who's who in African literature*. Tübingen, 1972; — Y. HUSKISSON, *The Bantu composers of Southern Africa. Supplement*, edited by J.P. Malan. Pretoria, 1983; — J.P. MALAN (ed.), *South African music encyclopedia*, 4. Cape Town, 1986; — *Makers of modern Africa: profiles in history*. 2nd ed. London, 1991; — A. KLAAS-TE, South Africa's hymn of peace. *Reader's digest*, June 1992; — T. COUZENS, Anthem has a solid claim to being national. *The Sunday Times*, 31 October 1993.

STRAUSS, Helena Dorothea (*Terugkeer, Wepener district, 16 March 1915—†Pretoria, 22 June 1981), singer, choir director and music teacher, was the youngest daughter of Jacob Johannes Strauss and his wife Helena Dorothea Holtzhausen.



Strauss received her schooling in Wepener. She then attended the University of Pretoria and the Pretoria Normal College (Onderwyskollege Pretoria). In Pretoria Strauss received singing lessons from Gladys Newbould, a well-known music teacher. In 1949, while on a visit in London, England, Strauss continued her singing lessons under Elena Gerhardt and Rudolphe Gaillard.

While still at school, Strauss displayed a musical talent, performing at eisteddfods and singing in the church choir. As student she excelled in music and during holidays accompanied the Pro Arte student

group on concert tours. Later she sang in operettas by *inter alia* Bosman de Kock* and Pierre Malan, and at concerts country-wide. It was during some of these concerts that she helped to introduce the songs of S. lee Roux Marais* to audiences. In the Transvaal she performed with the baritone Jan Schutte, accompanied by the pianist Anna Bender—later a concert pianist and official accompanist for the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC). Strauss also took part in a tribute concert for S. lee Roux Marais in 1954.

Strauss's first teaching position was at a two-teacher school at Makokskraal near Ventersdorp. To enable her to continue with her singing training, she moved to the Martha Human School at Hartbeespoort Dam in the early 1940s. From there she moved to the Generaal Jacques Pienaar Primary School in Capital Park, Pretoria. Here she and a colleague, Anna Bender started a children's choir that was very successful. From 1947 it regularly performed for children's radio programmes, and a recording by them was also used by the Belgium Radio Broadcasting.

In 1951 Strauss became lecturer in singing and music at the Pretoria Normal College. She was promoted to head of the music department in 1964, a position she retained until her retirement in 1975. At the college she strove for the improvement of music at school, and the encouragement of young musicians. Well-known South African singers like the alto Ronelle Markgraff and the baritone Rudi Neitz were among her students. With a grant from the Transvaal Education Department she went on a study tour to Europe in 1963, visiting schools and universities in Germany and Austria.

Strauss is perhaps best known for the Cantare Sanggroep (Cantare singers) of Pretoria which she founded in 1956, and of which she remained the conductor until her death. (Sources differ about the founding date and it is also given as 1957 and 1958.) The first major performance by this women's choir was in 1958. This was followed by regular radio broadcasts and performances with the National Symphony Orchestra of the SABC. The standards of the choir increased to such an extent that it won a national choir competition arranged by the SABC in 1969. The Cantare Sanggroep also became the first choir to perform on South African television.

Strauss requested young South African composers to compose for the Cantare singers. In 1977 a choir evening was held in the Musaion of the University of Pretoria with the programme consisting of compositions by South African composers only.

On 21 March 1981 a tribute concert for Strauss was held at the Pretoria Normal College. On this occasion she conducted the Cantare Sanggroep for the last time.

Strauss died a few months later in the H.F. Verwoerd Hospital in Pretoria and was buried in the Zandfontein Cemetery, Pretoria. She never married and was survived by two half-sisters, a half-brother, and a niece Helena Garner. The latter undertook much of the support and care Strauss needed in her later years.

Master of the Supreme Court, Pretoria: Estate no. 8627/81; — Obituaries: *Die Transvaler*, 24 Junie 1981; *Die Vaderland*, 29 Junie 1981; — I.P. MALAN (ed.), *South African music*

SUMNER, Maud Francis Eyston (*Johannesburg, 16 September 1902—†Johannesburg, 14 January 1985), painter, was a daughter of Alfred Bernard Sumner, an English immigrant from a prestigious old Warwickshire family, and his wife Maud Eyston, nee Smeeton. The family was devoutly Catholic and this had a lasting influence on the subject matter and spiritual contents of Sumner's paintings.



Sumner received her early education at home and her formal education at Roedean School, Johannesburg. Here she took art lessons from the art master A.E. Gyngell* who was also the curator of the Johannesburg Art Gallery in 1913. After matriculating at Roedean, Sumner went to Oxford University, England, in 1922. Here she studied English literature because her father considered a career as an artist too uncertain. Upon completing her university course in 1925, she attended the Westminster School of Art in London for a few months. Her tutors were Frank Dobson and Bernard Meninsky. She did not, however, find English art teaching satisfactory and, like several of her South African contemporaries (such as Cecil Higgs* and Ruth Everard*), gravitated in 1926 to Paris, France, where the art world was far more avant-garde and the schools more stimulating.

She first went to work in the *Atelier de l'art Sacré* (Studios of Religious Art) under Georges Desvalliers and Maurice Denis, and in 1934 she attended classes at the *Academie de la Grande Chaumiere*. In 1932 encouraged by Maurice Denis who had been impressed by the aquarelle she had made during the winter vacation at her ancestral home Eathorpe in Warwickshire, she held her first solo exhibition in Paris at the *Galerie Durel*. Later that year she visited and exhibited in South Africa. Thus her early years set a routine of living, working and exhibiting in England, France and South Africa, which was to be followed throughout the rest of her life.

From the outset of her career Sumner excelled in aquarelle. The paintings in this medium were assured, fluid and spontaneous evocations of emotionally charged landscapes, serene interiors, still lifes in which symbolic undertones may be perceived, and introspective portraits. Although an inevitable but gradual change of style is discernible in the watercolours, they were more consistent than the oils and, to the unspecialized eye, her early watercolours may appear to be little different from her later ones.

Through the oils, on the other hand, Sumner's development of technique, style and subject matter can be followed. It is above all in the oils that one finds a personal iconography that often has covert, and later overt, religious connotations.

Sumner's earliest paintings (dating from the thirties) followed the late Im-

pressionist intimate style of the Nabis such as Maurice Denis, Eduard Vuillard and Pierre Bonnard, all greatly admired by Sumner. In South Africa these paintings were found to be 'very French', and for that reason Sumner was credited with having introduced South Africans to twentieth-century French art.

In the 1940s, to a large extent influenced by Georges Braque, her compositions became more intellectual. The forms were almost 'mathematically' grouped, the shapes faceted and harnessed within a contrived network of lines, and the colours were brighter, the tones more extreme. Examples of this period include *Still life with brown jug and compotier* (1947) and *The cracked bowl* (1947). This, for Sumner, new aesthetic convention was developed in the 1950s and culminated in large, major paintings (some of them with religious themes) which are reminiscent of stained glass.

Sumner learnt to make stained glass panels at the Central School of Art in London during the fifties. She designed windows which were executed under her supervision for the Abergel and Prestatyn churches in Wales, the Roman Catholic Onitsha Cathedral in Nigeria and a convent chapel in Germiston.

In 1962 she completed another major religious commission: fourteen oil panels depicting the Stations of the Cross for St Mary's Cathedral in Cape Town. By that time the vigorous style and saturated colour of the forties and early fifties had been distilled to purity. Her broad planes, delicate colours and expansive compositions now proclaimed an awareness of mystical experience. This was not only a consequence of the artist's profound religiosity, but also the result of visits to some of the world's largest deserts. Even the ostensibly direct recordings of the Sahara (such as *Red desert—Sahara*, 1962), the Negev (such as *Desert, Israel*, 1964), and the Namib (for example *Namib beach*) are imbued with spirituality, and convey what Sumner particularly wanted them to express: space and silence.

In 1971 the Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns (South African Academy for Arts and Science) awarded Sumner the medal of honour for painting, and in 1977-1978 a large retrospective exhibition was mounted in Pretoria and Cape Town.

Shortly hereafter, in 1978, Sumner fell seriously ill; she had a stroke while on a visit to Paris, France. Upon returning to South Africa she decided no longer to commute between three countries. She settled in Johannesburg and, in spite of failing health, she continued to paint. Towards the end of her life she donated works from her personal collection to every art museum in South Africa. The remainder, together with documentation about her art career, she bequeathed to the state. It is lodged in the Union Buildings, Pretoria.

She never married.

Five scrapbooks and box filled with press cuttings, invitation cards, catalogues and other documentation from 1932-1983, owned by the State Archives and Pretoria Art Museum; — Master of the Supreme Court, Pretoria: Estate no. 939/85; — Transvaal Archives, Pretoria: Estate nos 4713/49 & 2635/50; — C. EGLINGTON, *Maud Sumner*. Cape Town, [1968?]; — M. SUMNER, Recollections of Paris. *Apollo*, October 1975; — T. READ, *Maud Sumner. Gallery*, Summer 1981; — K. KEMPF, The Lord's way to Calvary, told by Maud Sumner. *Lantern*, 33(2), April 1984; — Obituaries: *The Star*, 15 January 1985; *The Cape Times*, 16 January 1985; *Die Burger*, 16 Januarie 1985; *De arte*, 32, April 1985; — F. HARMSSEN,

SWART, Charles Robberts (Blackie) (*Morgenzon, Winburg district, 5 December 1894—†Bloemfontein, 16 July 1982), statesman and politician, jurist, journalist, author, farmer, schoolteacher and part-time lecturer, was the son of Hermanus Bernardus Swart and Aletta Catharina Swart (nee Robberts). During the South African War (1899–1902) Swart's father was captured and the young boy with his mother and the other children on their farm were held in the concentration camp at Winburg for the duration of the war.



Swart had an exceptionally sharp intellect. He matriculated in Winburg at the young age of thirteen. At the age of fifteen he was appointed magistrate's clerk at Winburg, having been adjudged too young for acceptance as a university student. In 1910 he enrolled at the Grey University College (University of the Orange Free State), obtaining the B.A. degree in 1912. After his initial studies he was a schoolteacher at Ficksburg from 1914 to 1915. During the 1914 Rebellion Swart was arrested and imprisoned and appeared twice before the Military Council on a charge of espionage and planning to join the rebels. Although he was later freed and allowed to continue teaching, he was placed under house arrest. The cell where he was held has been declared a national monument.

From 1915 to 1918 Swart was secretary of the examination board of the Orange Free State (OFS) Education Department. During these years he also continued his law studies, obtaining the LL.B. in 1918. In the same year he became judicial assistant to the Bloemfontein municipality.

His love for the judicature and academic life came to the fore from 1919 to 1948 when he practised as an advocate of the Supreme Court in Bloemfontein and lectured part-time in law at the Grey University College and in agricultural law at the Glen Agricultural College outside the city (1918–1921).

From 1921 to 1922 he studied at the University of Columbia in the United States of America (USA) towards a diploma in journalism in the latter year. During his stay in the USA Swart led a bohemian life, sleeping on park benches at night, singing songs like 'Sonny Boy' on street corners to earn money, and even acting in a film.

In 1921 he represented *Die Burger* at the World Disarmament Conference in Washington, after which he undertook a study tour of the USA, Britain, the Netherlands and Belgium, visiting several universities.

Swart's interest in politics started early. He was a member of the National Party (NP) since its founding in 1914. In 1919 he became chief secretary of the party in the OFS. A year later he was the party's candidate for Bloemfontein West in the Provincial Council election. In 1923 he stood as NP candidate for Ladybrand in the parliamentary election and won the seat. He was to represent this seat for the next fifteen years until he lost it in the 1938 election.

In the House of Assembly he was chief whip of the party and took part in many important commissions. For instance, in 1927 he was a member of the select committee responsible for the drafting of the bill for the iron and steel industry; and between 1926 and 1933 he was first a member and then the chairperson of the select committee on matters relating to the railways and harbours. In the years before 1948 he became a close associate of E.H. (Eric) Louw*, later Minister of Foreign Affairs, and J.G. (Hans) Strijdom*, Prime Minister from 1954 to 1958. He often spoke in parliament on matters such as the constitutional status of the Union of South Africa, neutrality and secession. He was considered one of a group of able young NP leaders.

Coalition and the resultant fusion between the NP under J.B.M. Hertzog* and the South African Party (SAP) under J.C. Smuts* were totally unacceptable to Swart. In December 1933 he and other NP members declared that they would actively oppose fusion. When fusion nevertheless occurred in December 1934 Swart joined the Gesuiwerde (Purified) National Party (GNP) under Dr D.F. Malan*. In 1935 Swart was elected to the Federal Council of the GNP and as OFS whip, after having become a member of the executive of the party in the OFS the previous year.

In parliament Swart pleaded for the interests of the farming community. He emphasized the importance of an efficient agricultural rehabilitation scheme and urged the government to do something about the depopulation of the southwestern parts of the OFS. In 1935 and 1937 he introduced unsuccessful motions to have the right of appeal to the Privy Council in Britain abolished.

Like most of his colleagues in parliament Swart was a member of the secret Afrikaner-Broederbond (AB). He joined the organization after the coalition, partly (as he stated in an interview in 1976) because the AB tried to save Afrikaner unity.

Swart also became a member of the Ossewa-Brandwag (OB) shortly after its founding in February 1939. He supported the OB desire to achieve Afrikaner unity and served on the Groot Raad (High or Supreme Council). However, with the OB's increasingly reactionary policy and critical attitude towards parliamentarianism, Swart resigned from the organization because it no longer measured up to his expectations.

After his defeat in the election of 1938 Swart continued to play a prominent role in the OFS. After the break between Hertzog and Smuts in 1939 over the question of neutrality during the Second World War (1939-1945) he, together with men such as H.F. Verwoerd*, J.G. Strijdom and E.H. Louw, strongly opposed the reacceptance of Hertzog in the GNP. He played a major role in the negotiations of 1939-1940 with Hertzog and was a member of the GNP's liaison committee that led to the formation of the Herenigde (Reunited) Nasionale Party (HNP, later NP).

Relations between Swart and Hertzog soured in 1940 when rumours started doing the rounds that Hertzog had undertaken to proclaim a British republic in South Africa if Britain should lose the war against Germany. Hertzog held Swart responsible for circulating the rumours. Although Swart later denied before a commission that he had anything to do with the matter Hertzog thereafter never greeted him and refused him an interview unless he publicly apolo-

gized for starting the rumour—which Swart refused to do.

Early in 1940 the OFS congress of the HNP accepted the Federal Council's programme of principles in preference to those of Hertzog. After Hertzog had left the hall, Swart was unanimously elected leader of the HNP in the OFS. The commission under chairpersonship of J.C. (Joon) van Rooy (the so-called Afrikaner Unity Committee) which investigated this split in Afrikaner ranks could not persuade Hertzog to give evidence before it with Swart.

In 1941 Swart was once again elected as member of parliament, this time for the seat of Winburg. After the National Party (NP) had won the general election of 1948, Swart was appointed Minister of Justice in the cabinet of D.F. Malan.

Swart has been described as a particularly able Minister of Justice. During his term of office until 1959 he was responsible for the following: the abolition of the right of appeal to the Privy Council in England; the reinstatement of Roman-Dutch law for testamentary bequest; the allocation of greater powers to the South African Police in combating crime; stricter measures against and punishment for robbery and other acts of violence; the expansion of the courts of law and judicial procedure; the institution of regional magistrates; the consolidation of amendments in a series of acts; the introduction of legislation on marriage and the rights of women; the rehabilitation of criminals; the reinstatement of the term 'landdrost' instead of 'magistrate'; and the translation of acts from Dutch to Afrikaans; the translation of Roman-Dutch law books into Afrikaans and English. He was also responsible for certain measures that were a result of the NP's racial policy: the Immorality Act and the acts regulating separate amenities; the banning of the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA, South African Communist Party (SACP) after 1953); and the restriction of other organizations regarded as subversive. Swart was severely criticized for his share in the banning of Albert Luthuli* and other African National Congress (ANC) leaders. As Minister of Education Swart was responsible for the achievement of independent status by the universities of the OFS, Rhodes in Grahamstown, Natal and the Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education.

From 1949 to 1950 Swart was also Minister of Education, Arts and Science, and between 1948 and 1959 he acted in several other portfolios, such as Leader of the House of Assembly and Deputy Prime Minister. In 1955 he represented South Africa at the Conference of Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth, as well as at the inauguration of the Court of Appeal of the Federation of Rhodesia (Zambia and Zimbabwe) and Nyassaland (Malawi) in Salisbury (Harare). During the illness and eventual death of J.G. Strijdom in 1958 Swart, being the most senior minister, was Acting and Intermediate Prime Minister.

From 12 January 1960 to 30 April 1961 Swart was the ninth and last Governor-General of the Union of South Africa. From 31 May 1961 he was the first State President of the Republic of South Africa for six years. He was thus the only person who was Governor-General and State President. In 1967 he retired to his farm De Aap in the Brandfort district where he lived until his death in 1982.

Swart's public career spanned a period of more than 40 years and he left his

imprint on the political, cultural and educational terrain and on the press. Over the years he held the following positions: secretary/organizer of the Taalfees (language festival) at Bloemfontein as part of the country-wide festival for the protection of language rights (1913); member of the council of the Grey University College, Bloemfontein (1923–1933); member of the Foundation Committee and Congress of the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings (FAK) (Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Societies) (1929); founder member of the Voortrekker youth movement (1930); member of the board of directors of the National War Museum of the Boer Republics and of the National Women's Memorial, Bloemfontein (1930–1948); acting editor of *Die Volksblad*, Bloemfontein (1937); parliamentary press representative of *Die Volksblad* and *Die Burger* (1938); founder member of the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut (1940); and chancellor of the University of the OFS (1950–1976). He was also guardian of a number of organizations and institutions, such as the Voortrekker youth movement and the National Cultural History Museum in Pretoria. Six schools were named after him, and the honorary citizenship of several towns was bestowed on him. He received several other awards and honours from organizations as varied as the Voortrekker youth movement, the Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns (South African Academy for Arts and Science), the Automobile Association of South Africa, the OFS Agricultural Union and the Department of Justice. He held honorary doctorates from the universities of Rhodes in Grahamstown, Potchefstroom and the OFS and was awarded the Decoration for Meritorious Service by the government.

Swart also left his mark as author and journalist. He produced a number of short stories and articles in Afrikaans and English for newspapers and journals. Because of his journalistic ability several editorships were offered him over the years, but he declined them. He was, however, a director of two publishing companies, namely Nasionale Pers and Voortrekkerpers. He wrote the two children's books *Kinders van Suid-Afrika* (1933) and *Die agterryer* (1939). He also wrote poems, songs and school songs for three different schools.

Swart was a keen sportsman all his life. He was a rugby player and referee. In 1918 he captained the first rugby team of the Oranje club in Bloemfontein and from 1919 to 1921 he was secretary of the OFS Referees' Association. During his stay in the USA in 1921 he helped a South African soccer team to beat a Chinese team in Madison, Wisconsin. He was also a bowls and jukseki enthusiast.

Farming was a special field of interest. He was an honorary member of the Letelle Sheep Association of South Africa and a life member of the OFS Agricultural Union. He farmed with Afrikaner cattle.

Swart will probably be remembered for the fact that the first treason trials took place during his term as Minister of Justice, as well as the fact that he introduced the first farm prisons and the first Suppression of Communism Act. Throughout his political career he was a staunch believer in Afrikaner nationalism. He was a popular, revered and approachable person and statesman. He had a remarkable memory even in his old age and his youthful spirit made him popular among young people. His tall figure of over two metres was part and parcel of his public image.

Swart was buried in the Presidents' Acre in Bloemfontein. His private papers are kept in the Institute for Contemporary History at the University of the OFS in Bloemfontein.

Swart married Cornelia Wilhelmina (Nellie) de Klerk of Kanneboskroon in the Winburg district on 2 December 1924. A son and daughter were born of this marriage. The couple also adopted a daughter.

Master of the Supreme Court, Bloemfontein: Estate no. 1482/1982; — Institute for Contemporary History, University of the Orange Free State: C.R. Swart collection (PV 18); *Komitees en Gekose Komitees waarin C.R. Swart gedien het, 1924-1959*. (Manuscript, compiled in 1979); *Recorded chronology of C.R. Swart's life*, 1 December 1974; — DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, Curriculum vitae of C.R. Swart (July 1982); — *Honoris causa*: C.R. Swart, University of the OFS, 18 March 1955; — J.J. KRUGER, *President C.R. Swart*. Kaapstad, 1961; — R. SEGAL, *Political Africa: a who's who of personalities and parties*. London, 1961; — Mr and Mrs Swart. *The Cape Times*, 19 May 1967; — B. SCHOEMAN, Totsiens, oom Blackie! *Bylaag tot Dagbreek*, 28 Mei 1967; — J. VAN WYK, Eintlik uit die Overberg. *Die huisgenoot*, 2 Junie 1967; — C.R. SWART, Van De Aap na De Kaap — via Pretoria. *Die Burger (Byvoegsel)*, 29 Januarie 1971; — 'n Standbeeld vir C.R. Swart. *Die Volksblad*, 30 April 1971; — A.S. DE BEER, *Ensiklopedie van die wêreld*, 9. Stellenbosch, 1977; — Presidential tradition broken today. *The Argus*, 10 October 1978; — Kanseliers: Charles Robberts Swart. *Die bult*, Feesuitgawe 1979; — Droom jou drome, sê oom Blackie. *Die Transvaler*, 29 Mei 1981; — D. MEYER, Eie mense vereer oom Blackie. *Die Volksblad*, 29 Mei 1981; — E.A. VENTER, *400 leiers in Suid-Afrika oor vier eeue*. Potchefstroom, 1980; — Obituaries: *The Natal Witness*, 17 July 1982; *Die Vaderland*, 17 Julie 1982; *Die Volksblad*, 17 Julie 1982; *The Star*, 17 July 1982; *The Sunday Times*, 18 July 1982; *Die bult*, September 1982; — J. GROBLER, Ministers van Justisie: [eerste Staatspresident, 4 Junie 1948-6 Desember 1959]. *Nuntius*, (16), November 1986; — *Makers of modern Africa: profiles in history*. 2nd ed. London, 1991.

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TEMA, Samuel Samson (*Molepo, east of Pietersburg, 10 October 1899—†Seshego, Pietersburg district, 7 April 1981), preacher and pioneer in the Dutch Reformed Church in Africa (DRCA), was the eldest son of Samson Tema and his wife Damaris. Tema received his early schooling in the Pietersburg district. In 1909 his father decided to become a Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) evangelist. The family left for the Stofberg Gedenkskool (Stofberg Memorial School) near Viljoensdrif in the Orange Free State where Tema's father received theological training. Tema continued his schooling there until about 1916. After that he worked as an unqualified teacher until 1920 when he re-entered Stofberg Gedenkskool to



qualify as teacher. After he had completed two of the three years training, he was involved in a student strike, protesting against students doing manual labour. He was expelled from the school.

For a while Tema worked on the railways but then started teaching again. He continued his studies by correspondence and obtained a teaching diploma at Kilnerton Institution, a Methodist college in Pretoria. His first post as qualified teacher was at Ferreira in Johannesburg where he met Rev. P.H.A. Fouché*, a missionary of the DRC. During this time Tema received a calling to serve as an evangelist and through the mediation of Fouché he was allowed to return to the Stofberg Gedenkskool for theological training in 1932. He completed his studies in 1934 and in 1935 began working in Fouché's congregation as a candidate minister. As he did not have a congregation of his own, he did pioneer work in Orlando. He traced members of the DRC and held services in his own home. With Fouché's assistance Tema raised enough funds to have a church build and in 1938 he was ordained in Orlando, his first congregation.

In 1940 Tema was appointed as the itinerant secretary of the Christian Students' Association (CSA) stationed at Fort Hare near Alice. He visited schools and training centres for Africans in South Africa, Northern Rhodesia (Malawi) and Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), and established branches of the CSA. He continued his work in the CSA until 1949. During the Second World War (1939-1945) the government requested him to serve as chaplain to the African troops in the South African forces in North Africa. While in North

Africa he visited Israel, including the places in the Bible that made a great impression on him.

From 1949 until he retired in 1967 he served the Tshwane Congregation in Atteridgeville, Pretoria. During this time he played a leading role in the developing Dutch Reformed Mission Church (DRMC). At the 1951 synod of the church he was elected as assistant secretary. During the next five years the DRC decided that it would allow Africans to serve on the executive council of the DRMC. At the 1956 synod Tema was elected as moderator of the executive council of the Transvaal DRMC, but the DRC decided that it would be 'unwise' if an African were to be elected as moderator immediately. Members attending the synod were therefore requested to re-elect a moderator. Rev. C.J.J. van Rensburg was then elected and Tema became the first African member of the executive council of the synod of the Transvaal DRMC, as well as the assistant chairperson of the synod. In 1960, at the general synod of the DRMC, Tema was elected to the Synodical Commission and the Ecumenical Commission. At this synod Tema proposed a name for the church, namely Dutch Reformed Church in Africa (DRCA). The proposal was accepted.

On the interdenominational scene Tema soon distinguished himself as leader. In 1954 he gave a lecture at the Interracial Conference of Church Leaders held in Johannesburg. He regarded the solution to the racial question an important challenge to the churches in South Africa. He was a founder member and for many years served as president of the Interdenominational African Ministers' Association (IDAMASA). On a more personal level Tema also had contact with the Zion Christian Church (ZCC) of Edward Lekganyane* whom he met in 1960. It was through Tema's mediation that Lekganyane was admitted to the Stofberg Theological School (which was moved from Viljoensdrif to *inter alia* Turfloop (Sovenga) in 1960 in terms of the Group Areas Act) in 1963. Tema's friendship with Lekganyane created cordial relationships between the DRCA and the ZCC.

Tema also played a role in the sphere of the international churches. In 1938 the Christian Council of Southern Africa sent Tema as a delegate to the conference of the International Missionary Council at Tambaram in Madras, India. While there he visited Mahatma Gandhi*. In 1964 he attended a meeting of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches in Frankfurt, Germany. At the meeting he was nominated as president for the African branch and so became a member of the executive council. He held this responsible position for five years and attended meetings of the executive council in Manila in the Philippines (1965), Toronto in Canada (1967) and in Beirut and Lebanon (1969) where he had to report on African affairs. As representative of the DRCA Tema attended various meetings of the All African Conference of Churches—in Zambia (1962 and 1964), Uganda (1963) and the Ivory Coast (1969).

In 1964 he visited the United States of America (USA) under the auspices of the Leadership Exchange Programme. He concentrated on church organization and administration and visited several universities and churches. He also spent some time at a theological seminary in Princeton.

Tema was involved with the Moral Rearmament Movement and attended its conference in Switzerland in 1954. In 1956 he took part in the international

mission to promote moral rearmament.

In 1967 he accepted superannuation and after farming for a short time he became warden at the Mmadikoti College for Advanced Technical Education (Mmadikoti Government School) in Seshego. Even before his retirement he was a member of the Lebowa Territorial Authority and remained a member when the Legislative Council of Lebowa was established, concentrating especially on agricultural development. He resigned from the council in 1973.

On 15 May 1977 an honorary doctorate was bestowed upon Tema by the Mary Holmes College of Mississippi in the USA for his years of faithful service to the church in South Africa and on the international scene.

Tema's life was characterized by faithful and loyal service to the church, perseverance, endurance and faith in the future of the DRCA. He worked for the independence and self-sufficiency of the young church and also pleaded for the raising of academic standards in the training of African ministers. Yet he cherished the ideal that one day only one DRC would exist in South Africa. He stressed good church management and administration and believed in the training of all the members of the consistory and church council. As he served in urban areas for many years he was especially aware of the problems of the urban African.

In 1937 he married Fedelia Tebogo Moshoeshoe, a teacher from Johannesburg. She was related to the Lesotho royal family and was a member of the Roman Catholic Church. Two daughters and two sons were born of this marriage.

J.A. VAN WYK, Dr. Samuel Tema: 'n lewensskets. In: STOFBERG TEOLOGIESE SKOOL (TURFLOOP), *Enkele swart pioniers in die N.G. Kerk in Afrika*. Sovenga, 1978. (Stofberg Teologiese Studies, 3); — P.A.H. KOTZE, Ere-doktersgraad vir ds. S.S. Tema, emeritus. *Die sendingblad*, 14(3), Maart 1978; — D. CRAFFORD, *Aan God die dank, I*. Pretoria, 1982; — Private information. Mrs M.M. Motumi (daughter), Mofolo, Soweto.

TEMPO, Anna (Sister Nannie) (*Worcester, 23 September 1867—†Cape Town, 30 May 1946), community and social worker. Her parents, William and Magavi Tempo, were only children when they were brought from Mozambique to the Cape and sold as slaves to farmers in the Worcester district. At the time of her birth her father was already a freed slave who worked at a vineyard, while her mother did washing and ironing.

As a young girl, in about 1884, Tempo entered the service of Miss Henrietta Schreiner (later Mrs Stakesby Lewis*) who needed assistance with the care of her young orphaned nephews. The children came to call Tempo 'Nannie', a nickname by which she became well known. When Miss Schreiner visited Australia, England and the United States of America, she took her nephews and Tempo with her. On their return they settled in Cape Town.



Miss Schreiner was a well-known temperance worker and under her influence Tempo converted to Christianity. She took a special interest in Miss Schreiner's welfare work and was encouraged to help Miss Schreiner with welfare work among blacks. Temperance meetings were held and the homes of coloureds were visited. She visited women's wards in prisons and hospitals, but did much to assist young girls and women "who have gone astray". In Cape Town Tempo's eyes were opened to the great moral dangers which threatened young girls at night in the streets of the city and especially in the docks area. It became her life task to save the girls morally and spiritually.

After the death of Miss Schreiner (then Mrs Stakesby Lewis) in 1912, Tempo went to Ireland for a time to serve as a nurse for the family of a Colonel Crawford. In 1914 she returned to Cape Town and became matron of the newly opened Stakesby Lewis hostels. She also went out at night, visited the brothels and the docks area, found the young girls there and convinced them, sometimes after lengthy pleading, to give up their immoral life and to go home with her. She obtained a small house in Napier Street where the girls found refuge.

During the First World War (1914-1918) the streets of Cape Town teemed with young men from the ships which visited Table Bay. Tempo also made these young men the objects of her redemptive work. Upon seeing them being led astray by a girl, Tempo's fingers would often touch a young man's arm. She would then look into his eyes and plead: "Master, please don't go with her. Think of your mother, your sister and the girl who loves you." Mostly the man would then let go of the girl's hand and walk off.

By 1922 public opinion apparently turned against her and the type of work she was doing. She was forced to vacate the house and find other lodgings from where she could operate. For the next few years she lived under extremely poor conditions. In February 1924, however, with the assistance of the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) she was able to move to a small house in Castle Street and in 1928 she also obtained two cottages in Jordaan Street. Financial support of the DRC and her own church, the Dutch Reformed Mission Church (DRMC), later made it possible to have a home built for these girls. Fittingly it bears her name: Nannie House.

Health clinics, the Child Life Protection Society, maternity homes and the police sent women and girls to the Nannie House. They were mostly stranded, destitute and homeless. After a few months they were returned to domestic service, or other occupations were found for them.

In 1937 Tempo received the King George Coronation Medal "[a]s an acknowledgement of her years of work among the prostitutes of Cape Town". After that she said to a friend: "If only the great Master had rather given me five pounds for the Nannie House!" Typical of this remarkable woman she never worried about herself. The welfare and spiritual salvation of the girls was everything.

She died in the Nannie House in Cape Town.

At a time when very little was done for coloured women Tempo fulfilled a very important role. After her death the synod of the DRMC took over the management of the Nannie House and a new building was completed in 1950.

In terms of the Group Areas Act the Nannie House was moved from Cape Town to Athlone in October 1960.

Obituaries: *The Cape Argus*, 31 May 1946; *The Star*, 1 June 1946; — C.J. KRIEL, *Die eerste eeu*. Kaapstad, 1981; — A.G.H. LOUBSER, *Suster Nannie*. Kaapstad, 1957; — Sister Nannie dedicated her life to help fallen. *Die Banier*, 20 Februarie 1965; — D. CRAFFORD, *Aan God die dank*, 1. Pretoria, 1982; — J.M. CRONJÉ, *Vroue met nardusparfuum*. Pretoria, 1984.

THEMA, Richard Victor Selope (*Ga-Mamabolo, Pietersburg district, 1886—†Orlando West, Johannesburg, 13 September 1955), politician, journalist and newspaper editor. His parents were Pedi and did not originally belong to the Mamabolo tribe who, through early contact with missionaries, were already Christians. Though his parents were not Christians, Thema attended mission schools. He interrupted his education when he ran away from school in 1901 and joined the British troops stationed in Pietersburg during the South African War (1899–1902). After peace was declared he went to Pretoria where he first worked as waiter in a boarding-house and then at the Imperial Military Railway Dispensary in Pretoria.



In 1903 he resumed his education and in 1904 was requested to open a school not far from his parents' home. From 1906 to 1910 he studied at Lovedale Institution at Alice in the Eastern Cape where he completed the Junior Certificate in 1907 and then qualified as a teacher. From the end of 1910 he taught in the Pietersburg district for a year, but then started working as a clerk, first at the Pietersburg mine recruiting office for three years, and from 1915 in Johannesburg in the office of the attorney Richard W. Msimang.

Msimang was chairperson of the committee that had to draw up a new constitution for the South African Native National Congress (SANNC, African National Congress (ANC) after 1923). Thema acted as Msimang's secretary on the committee. This led to Thema's increasing involvement in the affairs of the congress and in 1915 he was elected provincial secretary of the Transvaal branch of the SANNC. While Solomon T. Plaatje* was in Europe during the First World War (1914–1918), Thema took over his duties as secretary-general, acting periodically in this capacity in the 1920s. In 1919 he was a secretary of the deputation to the Versailles Peace Conference and the British government to petition for a better dispensation for the blacks in South Africa.

While in England, Thema enrolled for a course at a London school of journalism. On his return to South Africa he became sub-editor of the SANNC newspaper *Abantu Batho*, and correspondent for *Umeteli wa Bantu*. He became known as a persuasive writer and major spokesperson for moderate African opinion. In 1932 he became editor of the newly established newspaper, *The Bantu World*. He remained editor until his retirement in 1952. The newspaper was owned by whites but written by and for Africans. Under Thema's editorship the paper became an important medium for the

politicization of the urban African. It gave detailed information about the ANC, but was simultaneously a mouthpiece for Thema's own political viewpoints that were fairly moderate and even considered conservative. He was opposed to the influences from the left and the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA, South African Communist Party (SACP) after 1953), the use of boycotts as a political technique, and co-operation between Africans and Indians whom he considered an economic threat. Thema was joint author with J.D. Rheinallt Jones* of the chapter 'Our changing life and thought in South Africa' published in *Thinking with Africa: chapters by a group of nationals interpreting the Christian movement* (New York, 1927).

Thema believed that dialogue and negotiations would be the best way to get a better dispensation for Africans. Throughout the 1920s the government invited Thema to attend and participate in conferences convened under the Native Affairs Act no. 23 of 1920 to discuss matters concerning the Africans. He became a founder member and leader of the multiracial Johannesburg Joint Council of Europeans and Bantu. Although the ANC did not support this council it proved to be a forum for expressing the problems experienced by the Africans. In 1925 he was appointed assistant secretary to the Joint Council. From 1937 he served in the Native Representative Council (NRC), representing the rural areas of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. He remained a member of the NRC until it was dissolved in 1951. In 1945 he was leader of the National Anti-Pass Council that went to Cape Town to hand over a petition to Acting Prime Minister Jan Hofmeyr*. During the ensuing protest march, Thema was arrested for leading an illegal procession.

Thema was one of the organizers of the All-African Convention (AAC) that met for the first time in December 1935. He served on the AAC executive. After the slump the ANC experienced under the presidency of Pixley Seme, Thema helped with the revival of the congress. Under president-general A.B. Xuma* he served as ANC speaker, but after Xuma's defeat in 1949 Thema could not associate with the new trends in the ANC. When a member of the CPSA, J.B. Marks*, became provincial president of the Transvaal ANC, Thema founded the National Minded Bloc—a conservative faction that opposed the co-operation between the ANC and SACP and the increasing militancy.

During the 1920s and early 1930s Thema was superintendent of the Bantu Men's Social Centre in Johannesburg. He resigned when he became editor of *The Bantu World* in 1932. For many years he served on the Lovedale Governing Council.

Thema was a strong and prominent leader in the early years of the ANC. He is sometimes described as an opportunist who made his demands through white liberals and mass meetings where he proved to be a well-informed and brilliant orator.

He was married to Phillipine Mapule Chide. The couple had a son and a daughter. He was buried in the Croesus Cemetery in Newclare, Johannesburg. Kwa-Thema township outside Springs was named after him, as well as the Selope Thema Community School in Orlando East.

M. STAUFFER (ed.), *Thinking with Africa: chapters by a group of nationals interpreting the*

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TYAMZASHE, Benjamin John Peter (*Kimberley, 5 September 1890—†East



London, 4 June 1978), Xhosa composer, choir conductor and organist, was the fourth of the seven (some sources contend eight) children of Rev. Gwayi Tyamazshe, early missionary of the Congregational Church, and Rachel MacKriel of Scottish-French descent, from Mafeking (Mafikeng). After Gwayi's death in 1896 Rachel returned to her people in Mafeking, and the children were sent to the Ciskei to be brought up by paternal uncles.

Tyamzashe received his primary education at the Peulton Mission School near King William's Town. From 1905 to 1909 he attended Lovedale Institution at Alice, where he obtained his Primary Teacher's

Diploma. Between 1913 and 1923, through private study he obtained the Senior Teacher's Diploma and the Drawing Teacher's Diploma. He matriculated in 1939, but his efforts to study for the B.A. degree at the University of South Africa ended with the death of his wife.

Tyamzashe's teaching career began when he was still a student at Lovedale. For short periods thereafter he taught at Dordrecht, near Cape Town, and at Mafeking. From 1913 to 1924 he taught at the Tiger Kloof Institution, Vryburg. During this period he obtained, with distinction, the Associate Diploma—which included instruction in solfa notation, elementary harmony, counterpoint, form and style—from the Tonic Solfa College in London, England.

In 1925, in the hope that his wife would enjoy better health, the family moved to Cala, Transkei. Shortly after his arrival at Cala he became principal of the Higher Mission School, a position he retained until his retirement in 1950. He retired from Cala to his farm Zinyoka, near King William's Town.

Tyamzashe's music career was influenced by his family background. Coming from a musical family, he played the organ from the age of ten. At Lovedale Tyamazshe was an enthusiastic member of the male choir, and for his friends he made up many ditties about events or personalities. While teaching at Tiger Kloof, he trained choirs and played the harmonium for the school assembly. Encouraged by his teacher colleagues at Tiger Kloof, he started

composing.

At Cala composition became more meaningful to him. Here he wrote mainly for primary school usage. His five SSC (two sopranos and contralto) part songs ('Abantwana besikole', 'Amagqabi emithi', 'Inkonjane', 'Ukuba bendinamaphiko' and 'U-Nonhayi') are firm favourites with every Xhosa primary school choir, past and present. In 1925 his song 'Ivoti' was the set piece for the Transkei-Cape Choir Competition, the first vernacular composition to be accepted in this way.

Most of Tyamzashe's compositions are choral works. Because he seldom dated a manuscript, it is not possible to establish a chronology of his works. Furthermore, the date of publication is apparently also not an indication of the date of composition. Nevertheless, it is usually accepted that the first song he composed was 'Isithandwa sam' (My beloved) (1917), and that his compositions can be divided into three periods, corresponding to the places where he lived and worked. His works are listed in Y. Huskisson, and J.P. Malan (both *infra*).

In an analysis of Tyamzashe's works D. Hansen (*infra*) showed his music influences to be entirely Western, although his stay with his uncles as a young child exposed him to Xhosa traditional music. Only from 1947, at Cala, did his exposure to Xhosa traditional folk music become noticeable in his compositions when he started introducing the occasional Xhosa music idiom, rhythms and melodies into his works. At Cala he also led the Transkei Border Troupe that specialized in Xhosa indigenous songs. When he composed 'Zweliya duduma' for a massed choir of 3 000 voices to welcome the British royal family to Umtata in 1947, he incorporated the Xhosa prophet Ntsikana's* chant.

At Zinyoka he specialized in *pièces d'occasion*, usually on request: 'Mthin (athin') amahlungulu' that invoked God's blessing on the work of Methodist churches in South Africa, was written for the 1963 Methodist conference in Port Elizabeth; 'Unobantu' for the official opening of the new dining hall at the exclusive Xhosa Mount Arthur Girls' High School at Lady Frere; 'Ekhaya radio bantu' for the new Radio Xhosa studios in the Ciskei; 'Iskhukhukazi' for a choir of 500 voices, asking for God's blessing for Queen Elizabeth II at her coronation in 1952; 'Huntshu C.L.A. yo mnenonciba' which praised the Ciskeian Legislative Assembly; and 'Ibethil Intsimbi yaBantu' which praised the *Intsimbi* newspaper of Transkei. There are several requiems for funerals: 'Uwvumil umthetho ka Thixo' for the eldest son of Paramount Chief Matanzima; and 'Lala Ngoxolo' (Rest in Peace) for a close friend of his son who died after being knocked down by a car. For the wedding of his son Victor (a medical doctor) he composed 'Umtshato ka dokotile'.

Because of his Western facility and his ability to avail himself of the indigenous, he was approached in 1965 by Father Hirmer to rewrite the Catholic Mass at Indwe, Ciskei. From about April 1965 he thus began to write music for the Roman Catholic Church. 'Missa 1' helped him to formulate guiding principles for further liturgical compositions of this kind. He again quoted Ntsikana's chant in the Gloria of 'Missa 1' and in 'I-Komplini'.

His choral works cover the universe, nature, people—in descriptive and dramatic vein, often with an *idée fixe* (for example a national melody) to suit

an occasion. Popular Victorian music with fa-la-la choruses, and ragtime and band music with pom-pom effects impressed him and were heard not only in his music, but also when he was seated at his piano at home. Yet Tyamzashe is considered the first African composer who, in a modest way, "turned to his own musical past for inspiration". His leading characteristic was versatility, allied to a quick musical brain.

Tyamzashe's work has received much recognition. Several of his compositions were used as set pieces for choir competitions: 'Ukuba bendinamaphiko' (TUATA, 1961), 'Inyibiba' (Transkei, 1964), and 'Intlokoma' (Transkei, 1965). In 1968 his song 'Ududa nabo lixhaga leDini' received the only prize awarded in a competition arranged for African composers by the Society for South African Composers. On 24 April 1976 he received an honorary M.A. degree from the University of Fort Hare in recognition of the major contribution he had made to Xhosa music.

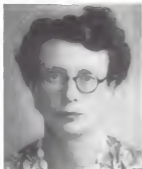
His lifelong association with missions and mission schools left their imprint. He was a dignified but engaging person with a keen interest in his fellow being and the events around him.

Tyamzashe married Mercy Gladys Xiniwe in 1918 (or 1919). Four sons and two daughters were born of this marriage. After his wife's death in 1938 he married a second time, to a Mrs Gwayi, but the marriage was unsuccessful. Shortly before his retirement in 1950 Agnes Nomasango, a diviner, became his third wife. Some years after the marriage she died. Tyamzashe died of cardiac failure at Frere Hospital, East London, and was buried on his farm Zinyoka, King William's Town. He was survived by his six children from his first marriage.

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V

VAN DER GUCHT, Rosalie (*Burma, 27 October 1908—†Cape Town, 31 October 1985), theatre director, actor and teacher. She was the only child of Claude van der Gucht and Florence Roberts. Her mother was governess at the royal school for the princesses of Chulalongkorn, Supreme King of Siam (Thailand), and her father was manager of the Bombay-Burma Trading Company. Her parents met in Siam, married against parental opposition, and settled in Burma.



At the age of four Van der Gucht was sent to school in England. In 1919, after the First World War (1914–1918), she went to study at Tudor Hall in Chislehurst, and in 1924 went on to the Lycee Victor Duruy in Paris, France, where she obtained the *Diplome D'Etudes de Civilisation Francaise*. Returning home to England, she was presented to court and in 1926 enrolled at the Central School of Speech Training and Dramatic Art, where Elsie Fogerty who created the first comprehensive teacher training in this field, was head. Elsie Fogerty considered Van der Gucht an excellent student. Van der Gucht obtained the first part of the Diploma in Dramatic Art of the University of London. Her second year teacher's course Dramatic Certificate was obtained in the first class. After completion of the course Van der Gucht spent seven years teaching at Malvern Girls' College as resident speech and drama teacher. On her return to London in 1933 she was placed on the London County Council's Senior Panel of Instructors in Elocution and Dramatic Literature and worked at the Stanhope Women's Evening Institute. She obtained the Licentiate of the Royal Academy of Music (Elocution), was elected to the British Drama League Panel of Adjudicators and joined the Questor's Theatre Club where she directed and acted.

In 1939, after serving as a driver in the London Auxiliary Ambulance Service, Van der Gucht left England for South Africa to take up an appointment at the Grahamstown Training College. This was the beginning of a prestigious career in the field of speech and drama in South Africa. She was a pioneer and inspired teacher in her field and was much loved and admired by the hundreds of students whom she taught and influenced, as well as the many other people with whom she came in contact throughout her long career. She

inspired devoted friendships which would sustain her during the long illness before her death.

During the Second World War (1939–1945) she attempted to join the Signal Corps, but was rejected due to poor eyesight. In 1942 the board of the Faculty of Music at the University of Cape Town (UCT) recommended the appointment of Van der Gucht as assistant in speech training. Arriving to take up her appointment in Cape Town, she found herself acting, directing and teaching with characteristic energy, humour and enthusiasm. One of her early performances was A. Kesselring's *Arsenic and old lace* for the Repertory Theatre Society. At this stage she directed G.B. Shaw's* *Mrs Warren's profession* and J. Bridie's *Tobias and the angel* for the Eoan Group.

In 1946 Van der Gucht was appointed head of the Speech and Drama Department at UCT, and she began to set her stamp on the department. She was an exceptional leader and knew how to delegate. As head she inspired her staff, encouraging them to stretch their own abilities and trusting them to meet her demands. She was an educator first and foremost, a hard taskmaster and an enthusiastic supporter of staff and student endeavours.

Among her own early productions as head of the department were Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice* (1947) and Ibsen's *The wild duck* (1948). For the Little Theatre's twenty-first birthday celebrations Van der Gucht produced *The Oresteia* of Aeschylus in September 1952. In March 1958 her production of *The good woman of Setzuan* was the first staging of a Bertolt Brecht play at the Little Theatre. As a director she was best known for her delicate and insightful productions of Chekhov plays like *The cherry orchard*, *Uncle Vanya*, *The seagull* and *Three sisters*.

Van der Gucht initiated many projects related to drama besides her direct departmental duties. One such project was the establishment of an important organization, Theatre For Youth, in Cape Town in 1956. This reflects the kind of vision which also enabled her to recognize the need to develop the department further. She therefore recommended the institution of a Performer's Diploma and the chair of drama.

After her retirement in 1971 she focused on directing plays and travelling. Travel took her to *inter alia* mainland China, Thailand, Mexico, Canada and Cyprus. She directed 32 productions in the years between her retirement and her death. Several of these were after her first extensive operations for cancer, notably her production of Alexei Arbuzov's play *Old world* of which Michael Venables in *The Citizen* said, "This is a real gem of a production" and "Miss Van der Gucht demonstrates once more the insight, fine judgement and theatrical mastery that have earned her her respected place as doyenne of our English-language theatre".

Van der Gucht received many awards, including the Three Leaf Award for Best Director, the AA Mutual Life for Best Director—an award from the Cape Tercentenary Foundation for outstanding services to drama—and a similar AA Vita Award. The latter was in recognition of her exceptional contribution as an educationist in English drama in South Africa and her inspired efforts to maintain the highest standard of excellence in our theatres. This last award came in August 1985, two months before she died, a fitting tribute to her life's

work.

She never married.

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VAN DER POEL, Jean (*Claremont, Cape Town, 24 December 1904—†Cape Town, 3 August 1986), historian and teacher, was a daughter of Jan Christoffel van der Poel and his wife Anna Esther.



Van der Poel grew up in Cape Town and attended the University of Cape Town (UCT) from 1922 to 1926. She was drawn to history by the inspired teaching of Eric Walker*, head of the Department of History. He supervised the master's dissertation she completed in 1925. It dealt with the affairs of Basutoland (Lesotho) from 1858 to 1870. She was awarded a Donald Currie Memorial scholarship which enabled her to study at the London School of Economics. The topic she chose for a

doctoral thesis was also suggested by Walker. Before leaving for England she prepared a calendar of the huge collection of John X. Merriman* papers at the South African Library. Her doctorate was granted *magnum cum laude*, and her thesis on railway and customs policies won a Royal Empire Society prize for the best monograph on imperial history by a historian under 35. It was published by that society in its Imperial Studies Monograph series.

In the middle of 1929 Van der Poel returned to Cape Town. Walker wanted her to lecture at UCT, but she insisted on taking a post as senior history teacher at Rustenburg Girls' High School. She completed a B.Ed. dissertation on *State action in native education in the Cape, 1841—1925* and was to play an important role in the South African Teacher's Association.

In 1938 Van der Poel was persuaded to move to UCT, where she lectured from March 1938 until she retired at the end of 1969. In 1954 she was made a senior lecturer and in the early 1960s she was offered the King George V chair of history, but declined it.

In 1942 the widow of Sir James Rose Innes* requested Van der Poel to arrange her husband's papers and provide a calendar. However, Van der Poel is perhaps best known for two major research projects which she completed in her years at UCT. The first was a history of the Jameson* Raid, published by Oxford University Press in 1951. This was the first scholarly enquiry into the question of responsibility for the raid. Joseph Chamberlain's* complicity had been suspected at the time, but now Van der Poel brought it out into the open.

The failure of the British government frankly to admit its role when the raid went wrong, had been "a tragic error", she concluded. Later historians accepted her judgement.

In 1951 she was asked by the principal of UCT to help William Keith Hancock, an Australian historian, collect materials for a biography of J.C. Smuts*. Van der Poel accepted the assignment and assembled, classified and catalogued a vast mass of papers over 20 years. Hancock's biography was heavily dependent on her labours. Her own assessment of Smuts is to be found in the long entry she wrote for the first volume of the *Dictionary of South African biography*. In 1966 the Cambridge University Press published the first four volumes of *Selection from the Smuts papers* under the joint editorship of Hancock and Van der Poel; the volumes that followed in 1973 were published under her name alone. After her retirement she thought of writing on the 1922 Rand Revolt, but decided instead to devote her time to reading and to music.

Van der Poel, who did not marry, was a shy and private person. She did not engage in academic controversy with other scholars, nor sought the limelight. She was an excellent and witty lecturer, and a person of strong beliefs and a strong attachment to European culture. She always lectured on European history, and delighted in the history and music of that continent. Her books will ensure her a prominent place in South African historiography.

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VORSTER, Balthasar Johannes (John) (*Jamestown, 13 December 1915—



†Cape Town, 10 September 1983), statesman and politician. He was the thirteenth of the fourteen children, and the eighth and youngest son of Willem Carel Vorster and his wife, Elizabeth Wagenaar. His parents were deeply religious, while his father was an ardent Afrikaner nationalist.

Vorster started his education at the Spitskop farm school in the Jamestown district. To accommodate the educational needs of the family, his father moved to Sterkstroom where Vorster matriculated in 1933. He then proceeded to the University of Stellenbosch to study law, obtaining the B.A., as well as the LL.B. degrees by 1938. Among the lecturers

who influenced him was H.F. Verwoerd*, who later became Prime Minister, whose sociology classes Vorster attended. Vorster displayed leadership qualities during his student years and was *inter alia* secretary of the student council in his final year, and in 1937 and 1938 he was chairperson of the Junior National Party (NP) branch at Stellenbosch.

In 1939 Vorster was appointed as registrar to the judge president of the Cape division of the Supreme Court. In October 1939 he became professional assistant to a law firm in Port Elizabeth and later a partner in another law firm in the city. He excelled in court work and during World War II (1939-1945) he defended a number of Afrikaners who had been indicted in terms of the emergency regulations.

Vorster played a major part in the Afrikaner community of Port Elizabeth from 1939 to 1942. He was elected as chairperson of the district management of the Herenigde (Reunited) Nasionale Party (HNP) in the Port Elizabeth North constituency, but resigned as chairperson of the branch as a result of the breach between the HNP and the Ossewa-Brandwag (OB) which he had joined. This led him to withdraw his HNP candidature for the by-election in the King William's Town constituency in 1941, having rejected the parliamentary system as an OB member. Vorster also played an important role in culture and sport in Port Elizabeth. He was chairperson of the Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniging (Afrikaans cultural society) and amongst other things, chairperson of committees of the Park rugby club. He was involved in a fierce struggle with the Eastern Province Rugby Union because they discriminated against Afrikaner players who were opposed to South Africa's participation in the war. This stand against discrimination in sport is ironical in the light of his own government's discrimination on the grounds of race and colour some years later.

Vorster was appointed as the chief general of the OB in the Eastern Cape in August 1940—the youngest chief general in the OB. He also served in the Cape provincial executive of the OB. He held strong republican convictions and was vehemently opposed to the war effort of the J.C. Smuts* government. On 23 April 1942 he was arrested under the emergency regulations and detained without charge in the police cells in Port Elizabeth for almost three months. After he had been on a hunger strike for two days, he was transferred to the internment camp at Koffiefontein where he was detained for a further fourteen months.

After his release Vorster was under house arrest in Robertson for three months. Subsequently he and his wife settled in Brakpan where he practised as an attorney. He soon re-entered active politics and joined the Afrikaner Party (AP) of N.C. Havenga* formed by loyal J.B.M. Hertzog* followers who were opposed to the war after the split in the HNP in 1940. During the general election of 1948 he was appointed as the AP candidate in Brakpan, but was compelled to stand as an independent candidate because of his past connections with the OB. He lost by two votes against A.E. Trollip of the United Party (UP). Five years later (1953) he won the neighbouring Nigel constituency for the NP. He was to represent this constituency in parliament for 25 years. Meanwhile he made swift progress as a jurist and was admitted to the Johannesburg bar in 1953, practising as an advocate until 1958.

In 1958 Prime Minister Verwoerd appointed Vorster as Deputy Minister of Education, Arts and Science, and of National Welfare and Pensions. He was responsible for handling the controversial Extension of University Education Act in 1959, which provided for separate university colleges for different ethnic groups.

In August 1961 Vorster became Minister of Justice. During the next few years he emerged as a 'strong man' in handling the attempts by the extraparliamentary South African Communist Party (SACP), African National Congress and Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) to bring about political change by force and end minority white rule in South Africa. Vorster gained parliament's permission for extraordinary powers for the government to detain people without trial and place restrictions on freedom of movement, gatherings and speech.

The legislation used by Vorster to silence and suppress the extraparliamentary opposition included the General Laws Amendment Act of 1962. In terms of the act people regarded as dangerous to the security of the state were placed under house arrest. Another General Laws Amendment Act of 1963 empowered the government to detain any person for 90 days without trial, and in terms of the Criminal Procedure Act of 1965 a person could be detained for 180 days. Vorster was accused of destroying the sovereignty of the law, but he maintained that the 90-days and 180-days articles were necessary to break the back of the revolutionary organizations.

Vorster's reputation among the white electorate grew as the police, backed by strict security legislation, achieved significant success in 1963 and 1964. Counted among the successes were the Rivonia swoop and trial, the arrest of A. (Bram) Fischer*, leader of the SACP, and the arrest of John Harris, planter of the Johannesburg station bomb.

Because of the methods he used, Vorster was often portrayed by his political opponents as a power-drunk Gestapo chief. He was also accused of inhumanity. Yet he never refused to speak to the relatives of any person condemned to death or of any long-term prisoner. He also held personal interviews with the parents of students involved in acts of sabotage and he even interviewed some of the students in jail.

In 1966 Prime Minister Verwoerd was killed in parliament. The NP caucus unanimously nominated Vorster as new chief leader and he thus became South Africa's seventh Prime Minister on 13 September 1966. The English-language press in South Africa and abroad was generally hostile to and apprehensive about Vorster's rise to power.

Vorster soon left his own imprint on the premiership. He was accessible and warm and replaced Verwoerd's intellectual dogmatism with greater pragmatism. He sought to normalize relations, especially those between Afrikaners and English speakers. He often stressed the importance of white national unity.

Vorster's first three years as Prime Minister witnessed a political conflict among Afrikaners. Two conflicting schools of thought were beginning to emerge: the 'verkramptes' (conservatives) who wanted to limit to the absolute minimum the contact between people of a different language and colour, and the 'verligtes' (enlightened) who wanted to remove petty apartheid. Vorster sympathized with the 'verligtes'. The 'verkramptes' opposed mainly four aspects of his government's policy: its more flexible approach with regard to sport and entertainment, diplomatic relations with African states, immigration, and Afrikaner-English relations. Vorster gradually grew impatient with what he termed the 'super Afrikaners' and in August 1968 Albert Hertzog* was

dismissed from his cabinet. After the nonconformists were driven from the NP, the Herstigste Nasionale Party (HNP) was founded under Hertzog in October 1969.

After the break in Afrikaner unity brought about by Vorster's more pragmatic policy, the NP lost many votes to the UP in the general election of 1970—the first time since coming to power in 1948. However, the HNP suffered a humiliating defeat. But Vorster's position consolidated again and in the general election of 1974 the NP regained lost ground. The opposition parties started to crumble and in the general election of 1977 Vorster led the NP to its greatest victory.

Vorster was convinced that discrimination would disappear as NP policy unfolded. He tried to foster good relations with African nations and he had more discussions with black leaders than all his NP predecessors put together. The constitutional and economic development of the black homelands was one of the priorities during his term of office. Transkei became independent in October 1976 and Bophuthatswana in December 1977. By the end of 1978 six black homelands had already become partially self-governing. For the first time white industrialists were also allowed to invest in the homelands on an agency basis. But the right of blacks to set up family homes or businesses in parts of South Africa classified as white was very rigidly restricted until after the Soweto disturbances of 1976–1977.

Sport was an important area in which Vorster initiated policy changes. The cancellation of the Marylebone Cricket Club (MCC) tour of South Africa in 1968 after Vorster had refused to allow the MCC to include a coloured man of South African origin—Basil D'Oliveira—in their team, hampered South Africa's position in international sport. But Vorster had begun to move away from Verwoerd's policy of racial discrimination on the sport field, because he wanted to prevent South Africa's total isolation in the international sport arena. He announced the first concessions in April 1967 and thus elicited the anger of the 'verkrampes'. In April 1971 he announced a new sport policy in which a distinction was made between multiracial and multinational sport: ethnic teams could compete against each other but mixed teams were barred. In September 1976 a further adjustment was made to allow multiracial or mixed sport to a greater extent.

Vorster tried to improve black-white relations by replacing a policy of extremely rigid social and economic segregation with one of selective segregation in the social sphere. Facilities like restaurants, hotels, libraries, theatres, museums and parks in white areas were opened piecemeal to blacks. More economic opportunities were also created for blacks. Job reservation, at first rigidly enforced, began to disappear. The wage gap between whites and blacks was narrowed, the bargaining position of blacks in the labour market was improved and the first report of the Commission of Inquiry into Labour Legislation (chairperson: Prof. N.E. Wiehahn) was completed.

Vorster also tried to address the political ambitions of the coloureds for whom he regarded integration as undesirable and a separate homeland as politically impracticable. In 1968 the representation of coloureds in parliament was abolished, the interference of one population group in the politics of another

was prohibited, and the Coloured Representative Council (CRC) was enlarged and its powers increased. Vorster proposed a 'consultative cabinet council' in 1975 to allow for liaison between the CRC and the white parliament at cabinet level. But the Labour Party majority in the CRC rejected this and objected to the limited powers of the CRC.

The *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Matters Relating to the Coloured Population Group* (chairperson: Prof. Erika Theron) was tabled in parliament in 1976. The government accepted the majority of the proposals of the commission but rejected those contrary to apartheid policy. It would not allow direct coloured representation in such government bodies as parliament and provincial councils, but was prepared to change the existing Westminster system of government in order to give coloureds and Indians a greater say in administration. Consequently the NP accepted proposals in 1977 for a new constitutional dispensation under which whites, coloureds and Indians would each have their own parliament and cabinet, while matters of common interest would be handled by a council of cabinets. A new political dispensation was, however, not implemented during Vorster's term of office.

The one event during Vorster's term of office that changed the course of South African history was the political upheaval that broke out in Soweto on 16 June 1976. The turmoil swiftly spread country-wide and continued with varying intensity until October 1977, causing the death of some 600 people. The situation was complicated by the death in detention of the Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko* in September 1977. An international storm of protest resulted. The government responded to the upheaval by banning eighteen organizations, as well as the widely-read black newspaper *World*, and opponents of the government's internal policy were restricted. South Africa's international isolation increased overnight as the Security Council of the United Nations (UN) imposed an arms embargo on South Africa.

The government eventually responded to the political turmoil by reluctantly beginning to accept the permanency of urban blacks, who were offered local community councils but no parliamentary representation. Home ownership for blacks in 'white South Africa' under 99-years leasehold rules was also instituted.

In his foreign policy Vorster tried to normalize South Africa's relations with Africa. Unlike Verwoerd he stressed that South Africa had a role to play in Africa. His beliefs found expression in an outward policy of contact and dialogue. His actions in this regard included a meeting with Chief Leabua Jonathan of Lesotho in Cape Town early in 1967, and visits to South Africa by the president of Botswana, Sir Seretse Khama, and the Prime Minister of Swaziland, Prince Dlamini, as well as Vorster's visit to Malawi in May 1971—the first Prime Minister of South Africa to visit an independent African state. The visit was reciprocated by President Banda of Malawi later that year.

The military *coup d'état* in Portugal in 1974 ended 500 years of Portuguese colonialism in Africa. This drastically changed South Africa's relations with independent black Africa. Vorster thereupon embarked on his *détente* offensive. In a dramatic speech in the Senate in October 1974 he committed his government to the normalizing of relations and to peace, progress and development.

President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia described this as the voice of reason for which Africa and the world had been waiting. Vorster undertook two dramatic secret peace missions—to President Felix Houphouët-Boigny of the Ivory Coast in 1974 and to President William Tolbert of Liberia the following year. The Organization of African Unity rejected Vorster's policy of *détente* at its annual conference in April 1975 and two other factors caused it to fail: South Africa's military intervention in Angola in 1975 and the upheaval which erupted in Soweto in 1976.

Vorster played a key role as mediator in the search for a peaceful settlement in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). As part of his relaxation policy he withdrew units of the South African Police which he had sent to Rhodesia and tried to persuade Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith to negotiate with the black nationalist leaders. He did much to create a climate in which negotiations could take place.

One of the most imaginative acts in Vorster's peace initiative was a meeting on board a train with President Kenneth Kaunda on the bridge over the Zambezi river at the Victoria Falls in August 1975. Although this conference failed to produce any tangible results he continued his search for peace. Thus he conferred three times during 1976 with Henry Kissinger, American Secretary of State.

As far as the thorny dispute with the UN over South West Africa (SWA) (Namibia) is concerned, Vorster's government accepted the international status of the territory and in 1972 twice held talks with Kurt Waldheim, secretary-general of the UN, and his special representative, Alfred Escher. An advisory council for SWA was established in 1974 and in 1975 the Turnhalle Conference was convened to work out a constitution for an independent SWA. Vorster also held talks with the representatives of the five Western countries in the Security Council. In September 1978 he announced a general election to be held in SWA in December in opposition to the UN's plan to hold its own elections in April 1979. But the Western contact group did not take this as a cue to terminate negotiations.

Vorster became the most widely travelled Prime Minister South Africa had had. He paid official visits to Spain, Portugal, France and Switzerland in 1970, Paraguay and Uruguay in 1975 and Israel and West Germany in 1976.

Vorster also tried to strengthen relations with the United States of America (USA) but was unable to win American backing when South African forces intervened in Angola in 1975. When the Democrat Jimmy Carter became American president in 1977, relations deteriorated because Carter's administration insisted on majority rule with universal suffrage in South Africa. Vorster strongly spoke out against USA interference in South Africa's internal affairs and when he conferred with American Vice-President Walter Mondale in Vienna in May 1977 he absolutely refused to give in to American demands over the political rights of blacks.

Vorster's health deteriorated fast from 1977 onwards. He announced his resignation on 20 September 1978. At the request of his colleagues he made himself available as the NP candidate for the state presidency. He was inaugurated as State President in Pretoria on 10 October 1978. After less than eight

months in office, he was compelled to resign on 9 September 1979 after a judicial inquiry into the notorious Information Scandal. The Commission of Inquiry into Alleged Irregularities in the Former Department of Information (chairperson: Judge R.P.B. Erasmus) was very critical of Vorster's handling of the affair.

Vorster and his wife settled at Oubos seaside resort some 150 km west of Port Elizabeth and they also resided in that city from time to time. He rarely expressed political opinions in public any more, but when the split in the NP occurred in 1982 he issued a statement in which he approved of the conduct of A.P. Treurnicht and his followers.

Vorster's health further deteriorated and he died in Tygerberg Hospital in Cape Town. In accordance with his wish he did not have a state funeral. He was buried in the so-called Heroes' Acre at the Dutch Reformed Church at Kareedouw in the Eastern Cape on 13 September 1983. On the same day a memorial service was held in the Dutch Reformed Church in Bosman Street, Pretoria.

Vorster was an unpretentious, phlegmatic and placid man who drew pleasure from the small and simple things in life. He was deeply religious and a devoted family man who was generally approachable and hearty. As a speaker he was equalled by few. He spoke spontaneously from only a few notes and used his sense of humour to keep the attention of his audience. He was a highly respected parliamentary debater.

As a political leader a good political sense and an exceptional knowledge of human nature came to his aid, although these qualities were impaired during the last two years of his life when his health deteriorated. Although he initiated many policy changes his critics point out that his obsession with party unity prevented him from really putting South Africa on a new political course and that the last two years of his premiership was a period of stagnation because of an inability to make decisions. He is seen by some as a politician rather than a statesman, someone who had the prestige and power to bring about real reform but shied away from doing so. Millions of blacks therefore regarded him as merely the leader of the white minority who failed to improve their political position. He did, however, succeed in uniting the two white language groups in a common—although narrow—South African patriotism. Despite the Soweto upheavals of 1976–1977 he did much to improve good relations between white and black and to foster contact and dialogue across the colour bar. He also took the first steps to bring about much needed constitutional reform in order to broaden the base of democracy in South Africa.

Vorster received honorary doctorates from four Afrikaans-language universities in South Africa and thirteen towns and cities bestowed honorary citizenship on him. In 1975 he received the Decoration for Outstanding Service and the Hendrik Verwoerd Award for Exceptional Service of National Interest. He was chancellor of the University of Stellenbosch for nearly fifteen years. He was a member of the Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns (South African Academy for Arts and Science) and the Voortrekker youth movement for many years, as well as a life member of the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings (FAK) (Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Societies). He

received medals of honour from the Simon van der Stel Foundation and the Junior Rapportryers. He was chairperson of the board of directors of Voortrekkerpers and a trustee of Afrikaanse Persfonds.

There are numerous busts and paintings of Vorster. Several schools, a hospital, the airport at Kimberley, a building at the University of Stellenbosch and the police headquarters in Johannesburg were named after him.

Vorster and Martinie Steyn (Tini) Malan, whom he met at Stellenbosch while she was a social work student and Junior NP committee member, were married in Worcester on 20 December 1941. She was the daughter of P.A. Malan, attorney in Worcester and co-founder of the NP in the Cape, of SANLAM and of Nasionale Pers. Two sons and a daughter were born of the marriage.

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W

WATERBOER, Nicolaas (Nicolaas) (*Griquatown, Hay district, 1819—†Griquatown, 17 September 1896), Griqua chief of Griquatown, was the eldest son of Andries Waterboer* and his wife, Gertruida Pienaar.



After his father's death in December 1852 Waterboer was elected as chief; his election was supported by Adam Kok III* and his council. During his regime the dispute over land rights south of the Vaal River, started by Andries Waterboer and Corneli(u)s Kok II*, Griqua chief of Campbell, continued. With the signing of the Bloemfontein Convention in 1854 this territory became part of the Orange Free State Republic (OFS). At that stage relations between Waterboer and the OFS were

good and his claims to land between the Orange and Vaal rivers were therefore acknowledged. The dispute between him and Cornelis Kok II was only settled in 1855 by Adam Kok III when he established a boundary between them—the so-called Vetberg Line.

In 1860 David Arnot* became Waterboer's agent and advised him to contest the land claims of the OFS. Arnot hoped to establish a British settlement called Albania on land south of the Vetberg Line which belonged to Waterboer in order to resist so-called Boer aggression. When diamonds were discovered along the Vaal River in the late 1860s this dispute reached a climax. Arnot himself tried to prove Waterboer's claim to the disputed territory east and west of the Vaal River with the aid of a doubtful witness. Furthermore, he suggested to Waterboer that he request British protection. Waterboer's request was granted on condition that the Cape Colony accept responsibility. At the same time the disputed land claim was referred to the arbitration of R.W. Keate*. The decision was in favour of Waterboer and he received the territory to which he had laid claim. However, ten days later, on 27 October 1871, Governor Henry Barkly* of the Cape Colony annexed the territory and appointed Richard Southey* as lieutenant-general. Waterboer and his followers thus became British subjects.

Waterboer and his followers gained little by the annexation. He was apparently under the impression that he would retain control over the territory west of the Vaal River. When the British authority appointed magistrates in the

area and sold some of the land, he decided in 1872 to follow his father-in-law to Griqualand East. There he applied his abilities as cabinet-maker and assisted in the establishment of Kokstad.

In 1874 he returned to Griquatown and continued his duties as chief as if nothing had happened. This strengthened the belief of his followers that he was legally still in power. This soon led to problems with the British authorities which could not be resolved, even after several interviews with Waterboer.

Waterboer and his followers were very dissatisfied when Barkly did not accede to their land claims. Moreover, conflicting claims to farms rendered the situation so difficult and confusing that Barkly appointed a Cape land court under Advocate Andries Stockenström* in 1876 to look into the matter. The court awarded five farms to Waterboer—about half the area he had laid claim to. He also suffered financial loss due to extensive legal costs. The dissatisfaction of the Griqua eventually led to the appointment of Charles Warren* in 1877 to reinvestigate the dispute over land. Warren was more sympathetic and awarded thirteen farms to Waterboer. However, Waterboer had to renounce all other land claims. In exchange he would receive a pension of £1 000 per year. This was poor compensation for his loss of power, status and possessions.

In May 1878 the squatters on the southern border of Griqualand West started a rebellion which soon spread to the rest of the area. The Griqua also took part and since there was evidence that Waterboer supported the rebels, he was arrested and sent to jail in Kimberley. He and his family were then banned to Hopetown from where they were only allowed to return in 1880 after the rebellion had ended.

Waterboer spent his last years in Griquatown where he died and was buried.

He was married to Margaretha Kok, the daughter of Adam Kok III, the Griqua chief of Philippolis—a marriage which united two prominent families and thus probably had a political undertone. Four sons and six daughters were born from this marriage.

He was unsophisticated and led a quiet and sober life till he came under the influence of speculators and agents. The discovery of diamonds and the subsequent diamond-fields dispute put him in the spotlight and caused unaccustomed pressure; consequently, though undiplomatic, Stockenström described Waterboer as "a weak, drunken specimen of humanity, worked upon by landricksters" and "half an imbecile, a perpetual drunkard and a mere puppet in the hands of designing persons". Waterboer's great passion was cabinet-making. He used a set of tools presented to him as a youth by Governor Benjamin D'Urban*.

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WEINBERG, Eli (*Libau, Latvia, 28 August 1908—†Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, 19 July 1981), trade unionist and photographer,



was the son of a tailor. At sixteen Weinberg left school to work for the railways. He soon became involved in trade union activities and was arrested twice. The second time, in 1928, he was jailed for participating in a general strike against anti-trade union legislation. Anxious about his safety, Weinberg's family urged him to emigrate.

On his arrival in South Africa Weinberg joined his uncle in Kroonstad, where he worked as a photographic printer. From there he moved to the coal mines in Northern Natal. His experiences there, combined with his left-wing politics, soon drew Weinberg into labour activities. In the early 1930s Weinberg met A.W.G. Champion* who gave him the address of the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA, South African Communist Party (SACP) after 1953) in Johannesburg. He also wrote several articles for *Umsebenzi*, the mouthpiece of the CPSA, in which he described the conditions on the mines. At the end of 1931 he moved to Johannesburg.

In 1932 Emil Solomon (Solly) Sachs*, secretary of the Transvaal Garment Workers' Union, asked Weinberg to help organize a union in the Western Cape. In that same year Weinberg joined the CPSA. His aim was to help organize a united nonracial working class and to challenge state legislation. The 1924 Industrial Conciliation Act and the Pact Government's 'civilized labour' policy formally excluded black workers from bargaining and political rights.

Along with other trade unionists Weinberg formed the African Garment Workers' Union in Cape Town. In the latter part of the 1930s Weinberg was also active in setting up the white and coloured Sweet Workers' Union in Port Elizabeth.

The labour movement's major growth period was to come in the 1940s, when the Second World War (1939-1945) ushered in an economic and industrial upswing. With many skilled white workers drafted for the war, more black workers entered factories and commercial enterprises. The black trade union movement grew rapidly. In 1941 the Council of Non-European Trade Unions (CNETU) was formed. Weinberg was active in the federation and also gave practical support to the member unions. After a series of strikes in 1942 many black unions were able to negotiate real wage increases. In 1946

Weinberg participated in supporting the massive African Mineworkers' Union strike for higher wages, printing and distributing leaflets and providing transport. The strike was crushed, however.

In 1943 Weinberg was invited to serve as general secretary of the National Union of Commercial Travellers, an office which he retained until his banning in 1953. In this capacity Weinberg also sat on the South African Trades and Labour Council (SATLC), a body which constitutionally had no colour bar. In spite of his and other left-wing efforts, the SATLC never accepted Africans into its executive committee.

The National Party came to power in 1948. In a programme of social engineering the new government passed a series of laws which tightened the control over African workers in urban areas. The trade union movement suffered a series of blows. The 1950 Suppression of Communism Act resulted in the banning of scores of trade unionists—members, ex-members and nonmembers of the CPSA alike—Weinberg included. A string of acts followed, which aimed to eliminate black trade unions and increase state control over workers.

One result of the removal of the left-wing trade unionists was the dissolution of the SATLC, which then became an all-white union federation. In response, CNETU officials and about fourteen other unionists, including Weinberg, convened a conference of registered and nonregistered unions, leading to the formation of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) in March 1955. From its inception SACTU was aligned to the African National Congress (ANC), with SACTU asserting that the economic struggle could not be separated from the political struggle for a democratic South Africa.

Weinberg's listing as a communist was followed by a succession of bannings over 23 years. Nevertheless, Weinberg contributed to the setting up of trade union initiatives. He participated in policy debates and also continued to assist secretly in training the new organizers of the SACTU unions.

Deprived of his living, Weinberg turned to his early love, photography. In this role he was able to undertake many commissions, ranging from now well-known studio portraits of ANC leaders to powerful visual images of the struggles of his time.

In 1960, during the state of emergency following the Sharpeville shootings, Weinberg and his wife Violet were detained along with 2 000 others. The majority of the SACTU leaders were banned. Subsequently many were jailed or went into exile. In 1963 the Weinbergs were again detained and charged with attempting to revive the SACP. Weinberg was sentenced to five years' imprisonment. His wife was jailed the following year. During their imprisonment the Weinbergs suffered a blow with the sudden death of their son Mark in 1968. They were not allowed to attend the funeral. On Weinberg's release he was again banned and placed under house arrest.

In 1976, in the wake of the Soweto student uprisings, Weinberg went into exile to Tanzania. There he worked for SACTU as administrative secretary and also wrote and published his book *Portrait of a people (infra)*. He died in 1981, survived by his wife and daughter Sheila, who at the time was banned

and under house arrest, and living in Johannesburg with her young son Mark.

At the time of Weinberg's death the black labour movement had been revived and had begun its massive growth. It propelled the state into recognizing its organizations, and was in the process of making powerful links with community struggles. As one of a breed of tenacious left-wing labour activists, Weinberg could claim that he had helped to pave the way for just such a scenario.

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WELZ, (Johan) Jean Max Friedrich (*Salzburg, Austria, 4 March 1900—



†Cape Town, 24 December 1975), artist and architect, was the eldest of five children of a family who had been framers and gilders for three generations.

Welz studied art at the Realschule in Salzburg. After matriculating in 1918 he went to Vienna to study architecture under Oscar Strnad and Josef Hoffmann. The latter in particular was instrumental in laying the foundations of the stark architectural style that was to replace its flamboyant Art Nouveau predecessor. Welz felt drawn to and understood this functionalist development, and its formalist aesthetic was later to manifest itself in his painting.

In 1925 he went to Paris, France, to supervise the construction of the Austrian pavilion at the International Exhibition of Decorative Arts. He never returned to live in Austria. From 1925 to 1937 he lived and worked as an architect in Paris, and on occasion collaborated with such architectural luminaries as Adolf Loos and Lee Corbusier. It was during this time that he became known as 'Jean', the French equivalent for 'Johan'.

During his free time he eagerly studied the new developments in painting and sculpture as seen in the galleries. He entrenched his observations by participating in avid café discussions about art with some of the 'rebel' artists of the time. His gallery visits and the café discussions may be regarded as his art training because he never attended a formal art school.

Because prospects in Europe were bleak, Welz emigrated to South Africa in 1937. After presenting a letter of recommendation from Lee Corbusier to Prof. G.E. Pearse*, Welz was appointed to the architectural office of the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. He designed the entrance foyer of the Great Hall at the university as well as the Institute for Geophysical Research, both according to the modern architectural principles which at that date were novel in South African building.

In 1939 he had to resign his post at the architectural office owing to illness

and, following medical advice, the Welz family moved to the Little Karoo. Here they tried to make a living by running a tearoom on the Tradouw Pass near Barrydale. It was here that Welz began to draw and paint seriously.

In 1941 the family moved to Worcester where he lived for 28 years. From 1941 to 1947 he was the first principal of the Hugo Naudé Art Centre for which he converted an old wagonbuilders' workshop into an art school, lecture hall and theatre. He taught art, putting into practice theories he had learnt from the pioneer in children's art education, Franz Cizek. He became the respected and influential artist of the town.

Welz held his first exhibition in Cape Town and Stellenbosch in 1942. He exhibited still lifes, portraits and landscapes, but not a single work was sold at either venue. In the same year he also joined the dynamic society of artists known as the New Group—who included artists like Lippy Lipshitz* and Gregoire Boonzaier.

After resigning from the Hugo Naudé Art Centre in 1948 he initiated a local branch of the South African Art Association. He promoted art awareness among the public by regularly lecturing on art and architecture.

But his main preoccupation from 1942 onwards was painting. It was not long before he was acknowledged as one of our foremost artists. This was attested by the Silver Medal awarded to him in 1947 by the Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns (South African Academy for Arts and Science) (SAAWK) for his picture *Earthenware and cupboard door* (South African National Gallery), as well as the selection of his work for official exhibition of South African art overseas. In 1969 the SAAWK awarded him the Medal of Honour for painting, and the South African National Gallery commemorated his seventieth birthday by mounting a major retrospective exhibition of his paintings and drawings.

At his Johannesburg exhibition of 1947 he initiated the idea of selling post-card reproductions of some of the exhibits. From the beginning of the 1950s he lived in relative seclusion, but exhibited frequently, and his works commanded higher prices than those of his living contemporaries.

As a painter Welz was well into the avant-garde that he had studied with so much enthusiasm in Paris, France. During the 1940s this refreshingly contemporary and new kind of painting set a standard for art in South Africa, and the more enlightened artists and critics were soon to follow and champion him.

The art of Welz has been described glibly as "romantic expressionism". Indeed, his aim was always to integrate poet and painter. Nevertheless, he also stated "however poetic any work of art may be, it must be based on reality, perfect reality". His concept of reality is not to be confused with illusionistic realism. His reality is derived from formalist aesthetic principles that find their origin in visual experience. From this attitude arose Welz's concept of art being a "science of symbols". These philosophical concepts are the essence of his painting, whether it was a purely nonrepresentational design (somewhat in the manner of Piet Mondriaal), or a landscape, still life, figure study or portrait. All his paintings are fundamentally formalist exercises in which line, shape, tone, texture (particularly tone and texture) and colour are amalgamated into severely intellectual compositions. This is the 'reality'. An indefinable and

subtle 'poetry' imbues these works with timeless aesthetic value.

His still lifes, therefore, are not mere documentations of groups of household objects, but a reflection of a state of mind. His landscapes are not typographical recordings, but evocations of experience. His figures propound dreams of Utopia. Above all his portraits are profound psychological and spiritual observations that are unsurpassed in the South African *oeuvre*.

In 1968 his earlier illness recurred and he had to enter hospital. His health continued deteriorating and he died in 1975.

While living in Paris, Welz married a Danish journalist, Inger Christensen. They had five sons, of whom one, Stephan, became a well-known connoisseur of the arts.

J. WELZ, Kuns is die wetenskap van simbole. *Standpunte*, 10, Oktober-November 1955; — *Jean Welz: catalogue retrospective exhibition, South African National Gallery*, with articles by M. Bokhorst and W.E.G. Louw. [Cape Town, 1970]; — Artist of distinction: Jean Welz. *SA panorama*, October 1970; — Obituaries: *The Cape Times*, 25 December 1975; *The Argus*, 26 December 1975; *The Star*, 27 December 1975; — Tributes: W.E.G. LOUW, Welz: 'n huldeblyk. *Die Burger*, 31 Desember 1975; [F. HARMSSEN], Jean Welz: in memoriam, 4.3.1900 (Salzburg) [to] 24.12.1975 (Kaaipstad). *De arte*, 19, April 1976; — V. HOLLOWAY, Welz op Worcester. *Die Burger*, 5 April 1976; — *Jean Welz: catalogue*, with introduction by Johanna de Villiers. [S.l., 1977]; — G. BOWES-TAYLOR, Portrait of the artist. *The Cape Times*, 29 January 1984; — Jean Welz on portraiture. In: F. HARMSSEN, *Looking at South African art*. Pretoria, 1985.

WILMAN, Maria (*Beaufort West, 29 April 1867—†George, 9 November 1957), geologist and botanist of international repute, author and scholar, was the fifth of the nine daughters of Herbert Wilman, member of parliament for Beaufort West in the Cape parliament of Sir John Charles Molteno*, and his wife Engela Johanna Neethling.

After matriculating at the Good Hope Seminary in Cape Town, Wilman went on to Newnham College at the University of Cambridge in England in 1885. In 1888 she completed a natural science trip in geology, mineralogy and chemistry, and then took a course in botany. At that time women were issued with certificates only and it was not until November 1931 that the degree of Master of Arts was conferred upon her by this university.

Her association with the South African Museum in Cape Town began in 1888 shortly after her return from England. At the museum she worked in the Geological Department and was trained in museum work by L.A. Péringuey*. She was a pioneer in the Geological Commission of the Cape of Good Hope, the first and oldest continuing state-funded geological organization in Africa, established in 1895. During this time her bibliography, 'Catalogue of printed books, papers and maps relating to the geology and mineralogy of South Africa to December 31, 1904' was published in the *Transactions of the South African*

Philosophical Society of August 1905.

In 1908 she was appointed as the first director of the newly established Alexander McGregor Memorial Museum in Kimberley—a position she held until 1946. The exploration of Griqualand West was a priority of the museum with Wilman's most important work being connected with the preservation of relics of San and Khoikhoi culture—a study which started after a visit to rock paintings in the George district in November 1907. She took photographs of San paintings and rock engravings and did extensive research in the stone- implement cultures of Southern Africa. She encouraged local farmers, officials, diggers and every other likely person she could find to help her with this gigantic task. Most of these collectors needed her guidance, and many an alluvial digger was taught by her to recognize and preserve bones and tools from the gravel terraces and beds of the Vaal and Harts rivers for the museum.

Wilman published the following articles in the *South African journal of science*: 'Notes on some Bushmen paintings in the Thaba Bosigo district, Basutoland' (1910) and 'The engraved rock of Loë, Bechuanaland Protectorate' (1918). Her major archaeological publication was *The rock- engravings of Griqualand West and Bechuanaland, South Africa* (1933; reprinted 1968), the culmination of 24 years of research and fieldwork done over weekends.

It was Wilman who, recognizing the ethnological value of A.M. Duggan-Cronin's* photographs, spurred him on to extend his knowledge of indigenous peoples and their mode of life through expeditions into various areas. She then selected and arranged the photographs for publication, chose the authors who were to write the introductions according to their expert knowledge, and undertook all the secretarial work, editing and proof-reading connected with the entire production of Duggan-Cronin's books, *The Bantu tribes of South Africa* (eleven sections making four volumes, of which the first was published in 1927) and *The Bushmen tribes of Southern Africa* (1942).

Wilman was a keen gardener and botanist. She created the museum garden and the well-known rock garden which extended about 400 metres along one boundary of the Kimberley Public Gardens. This rock garden contained representative specimens of practically all South African succulents that had been gathered for study purposes. Besides succulents and other small plants there were a variety of native trees, shrubs and a large number of treasured species of grass. It was due to her influence that the native Karees, the Mesquites and the Australian drought-resistant Kurrajong replaced the old pepper trees in the streets of Kimberley. But perhaps the most important of Wilman's public-spirited activities was the collection and distribution of great quantities of grass-seed for pasturage as well as soil restoration. It was these grasses that helped largely to resuscitate some of the dust bowls in the United States of America—more particularly in Texas. She personally attended to the museum herbarium and collected 7 000 sheets. Among some of the botanical discoveries that bear her name are *Watsonia wilmaniae*, *Stapelia wilmaniae*, *Ruschia wilmaniae*, *Herreoa wilmaniae* and *Nananthus wilmaniae*.

Her last publication, linked to her interest in botany, was entitled *Preliminary check list of the flowering plants and ferns of Griqualand West* (1946). This book serves as an excellent guide to the flora of this large area, and

provides an important and still unique contribution to the botanical survey of South Africa.

Friends played an important part in Wilman's life. Among them was her lifelong friend and associate, Dorothea F. Blee(c)k*. According to those who knew her, Wilman was alert in mind and body, but quiet and calm in manner and speech, even when her feelings were aroused. She was always faultlessly and elegantly dressed for all occasions, with an almost puritanical avoidance of surplus ornament and artificial aids of beauty.

She became a member of the South African Philosophical Society in 1898 and at the time of her death was a life member of the Royal Society of South Africa. She was a staunch supporter of the South African Association for the Advancement of Science. In 1939 an honorary doctorate in law was conferred upon her by the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in recognition of her work.

Wilman was a pioneer in two senses. She became a scientist at a time when science was almost taboo to women, and she laid the foundation for botanical and archaeological research in Griqualand West and the Kalahari.

She never married.

Master of the Supreme Court, Kimberley: Estate no. 7/58; — *The Rand Daily Mail*, 1 March 1938; — *Honoris causa*: M. Wilman, University of the Witwatersrand, 1939; — Obituary: *Diamond Fields Advertiser*, 1 May 1957; — H.M.L. BJOLUS, Maria Wilman, 1867-1957. *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Africa*, 35(4), April 1958; — [E. RADLOFF], Dr Maria Wilman, 1867-1957. *South African journal of science*, 60(12), December 1964; — R. & N. MUSIKER, Wilman, Maria. In: *Standard encyclopaedia of Southern Africa*, 11. Cape Town, 1975; — J. DEACON, The remarkable Maria Wilman. *The digging stick*, 4(2), September 1987; — L.E. KENT, The remarkable Maria Wilman: a footnote. *The digging stick*, 5(1), April 1988.

WOLHUTER, Henry (Harry) Charles Christopher (*Beaufort West, 14



February 1876—†White River, 30 January 1964), game ranger in the Sabi Game Reserve (Kruger National Park) from 1902 to 1946. He was the second son of Egbertus George Wolhuter and Maria Louisa Catherine Krummeck. (Wolhuter's christian names are given as they appear in his estate and his last will and testament.)

Wolhuter's childhood was spent in Beaufort West. According to his autobiography, *Memories of a game ranger*, his happiest recollections of those years involved being in the veld, hunting wildlife. A love of the outdoors and the freedom it offered were to remain with Wolhuter throughout his life. He received little education and his schooling ceased when he was in his early teens: he admitted that he disliked studying and frequently played truant. In the early 1890s the family moved to the Transvaal. Until the outbreak of the South African War (1899-1902) Wolhuter tried his hand at various trades—bartender

and shopkeeper on the Witwatersrand; manager of his father's farming and trading enterprise at Legogote (Lozieskop near the southwestern boundary of the Kruger National Park); farm manager for H.L. Hall*; commando service for the South African Police (the police force of the Transvaal Republic); and wildlife hunter. When war was declared in 1899, Wolhuter tried to avoid military involvement, having some sympathy for both sides, but later joined Steinaecker's Horse, a British volunteer unit comprising a number of dubious characters, as well as men considered by Wolhuter to have been of "sterling quality". Great camaraderie existed among members of this unit and Wolhuter made some lifelong friends. Until 1902, interspersed with bouts of malaria, Wolhuter extensively patrolled the lowveld (Eastern Transvaal) and in this way became familiar with its wildlife and people. He built the blockhouse at Sabi Bridge which later became the nucleus of Skukuza Camp in the Kruger National Park.

On 17 August 1902, shortly after the re-establishment of the Sabi Game Reserve, Wolhuter was appointed as the second game ranger of the reserve by the warden James Stevenson-Hamilton*. For 44 years Wolhuter remained in this post, being responsible for the southwestern district. He first lived at Mtimba (some 7 km west-northwest of the present Numbi entrance which was excised from the reserve in 1923) and, after 1938, at Pretoriuskop.

In August 1903 Wolhuter became legendary for his personal bravery. In an attack by two lions Wolhuter was thrown off his horse and dragged by the shoulder across the veld by one of them. Just able to reach his sheath knife, Wolhuter killed the lion by plunging the knife into its heart, and then managed to scramble up a tree until help arrived some hours later. It took months for the wound to heal and Wolhuter was left somewhat lame in the arm. This disability prevented him from enlisting in the First World War (1914-1918). The lion skin and knife are on display in the museum at Skukuza and a commemorative plaque was placed at the 'Lindanda' tree (Wolhuter's African name) in 1937.

Tall, lean and happiest on horseback, the outdoor life of a game ranger suited Wolhuter well. Moreover, as well as being vigorous and adventurous, Wolhuter—unlike some of the other early appointments in the game reserve—proved to be responsible and hard-working. His duties included extended patrols of his 'section' on horseback and policing the area against poachers and trespassers with the assistance of African game guards. He also observed the wildlife, commenting on its number and condition. Before the development of modern conservation management, an important task of a game ranger was the destruction of species at that time considered to be 'vermin'—lion, cheetah, leopard, wild dog, reptiles and birds of prey. Building, gardening, road construction and repair, mending equipment and providing housing also formed part of Wolhuter's activities. He had a lifelong interest in dogs and horses and became a notable breeder of both.

Wolhuter was essentially a practical person. His employment carried little administrative responsibility and this he avoided whenever possible. Although he became senior game ranger, he generally declined to act as warden during Stevenson-Hamilton's extended absences from the reserve, content to allow others, sometimes less capable than he, to be placed in charge. He was a

honorary life member of the South African Wildlife Society.

When the Kruger National Park was opened to tourists in the late 1920s, Wolhuter became a great favourite with visitors because of his talent as a storyteller. His memoirs, charmingly illustrated by Charles Astley-Maberly, were first published in 1948 and have been reprinted many times. It remains popular and has become a minor classic in Africana. This book is a 'good yarn' but offers little critical insight into the evolution of nature conservation in the Transvaal. Wolhuter's exploits are also the subject of another early account of the game reserve, *The Kruger National Park: tales of life within its borders*, by C.A. Yates, Wolhuter's brother-in-law.

Wolhuter married the Edinburgh-born Alice Maude Webster in Barberton on 14 February 1919. Their only son, Henry succeeded his father after the latter's retirement in 1946 and filled the post of senior game ranger until his untimely death, also in 1964.

Archives of the Kruger National Park, Skukuza: File Series KNP K11, K2 and Rangers' Diaries; — Transvaal Archives, Pretoria: CTG 65, 74/18, 1902/3; LC646, AG 1079/04, 15.3.1904; Estate no. 1437/64; — C.A. YATES, *The Kruger National Park: tales of life within its borders*. London, 1935; — J. STEVENSON-HAMILTON, *South African Eden*. London, 1937; — Obituaries: *The Star*, 6 February 1964; The passing of Harry Wolhuter. *African wildlife*, 18(1), March 1964; — Wolhuter-tradisie van meer as sestig jaar verbreek. *Die Vaderland*, 28 Desember 1964; — LOWVELD 1820 SETTLERS SOCIETY, *Some lowveld pioneers*. (Pretoria, 1966); — U. DE V. PIENAAR, *Neem uit die verlede*. Pretoria, 1990; — Private information: Mrs Joan Wolhuter (daughter-in-law), Bryanston Village, Sandton.

WOOD, Josephine Ethel (Josie) (*Grahamstown, 22 January 1874—†Grahamstown, 4 April 1965), teacher and founder of the South African Library for the Blind. She was one of the six children of the first mayor of Grahamstown, George Samuel Wood, and his wife Frances Elizabeth Wood (nee Hoole). Her grandfather, George Wood*, was an 1820 settler and member of the Legislative Council.



After matriculating at the Diocesan School for Girls in Grahamstown, Wood was trained as a teacher. Initially she acted as tutor for two cousins in Johannesburg before leaving for an extended tour of England and Europe in 1909. On her return she settled in Grahamstown and became active in the work of the Child Welfare Society. She also nursed invalids in her own home. She continued with this until the Great Influenza Epidemic of 1918 when she met Eleanor Comber. Comber came to South Africa to work among the blind. To combat the high level of illiteracy she taught braille and acquired a small number of books in braille. When she decided to leave South Africa in 1918, she looked for someone to take over her work. She turned to Wood.

In March 1919 Wood started with her work among the blind. She stored in her own home a 100 braille volumes, canvas bags for mailing, and the names

of 20 people interested in borrowing books to read. All administration was done from there as well. During the first year she raised funds by selling her own sketches and paintings, while well-wishers and readers also donated money.

A next step was to start a transcription service. Her niece, Edith Wood, was the first voluntary transcriber. Wood herself also learnt braille. However, the demand for books in braille exceeded the numbers the volunteer transcribers could produce. She therefore appealed internationally for contributions and in 1921 received supplementary stock from the American Braille Press in Paris, France, the National Institute for the Blind, and the National Library for the Blind in London, England. The arrangement with the latter library continued for many years in the form of so-called block loans of 80 titles at a time. Wood also induced the national and provincial governments to make substantial contributions for books for the blind.

Wood's lobbying for assistance included transport of items for the library. The Union Castle Shipping Company responded by transporting the contributions and loans from overseas institutions free of charge. The postal services lowered the postage payable on items for the blind. Eventually, in 1953, it was decided that no postage would be charged on any item to and from any recognized institution serving the blind.

By 1924, only five years after Wood had started the library, it had grown to such an extent that she decided to get assistance. Staff were appointed, and a deed was drawn up which called for a council to govern the library. Also in 1924 a bequest from the Rhodes University Council facilitated the erection of the building in High Street in Grahamstown which would house the library in future. In 1925 the South African Library for the Blind was officially opened by R.W. Bowen, then member of the Cape Provincial Council. Wood was honorary secretary of the library council for 46 years.

In 1929 Wood was a co-founder, with Bowen and others, of the South African National Council for the Blind (SANCB).

Several awards and honours were bestowed on her in gratitude for her services. In 1952 she was appointed first honorary life president of the SANCB, and in the same year was awarded an honorary M.A. degree by Rhodes University, Grahamstown. In 1955 the Rotary movement awarded her its Token of Esteem; in 1961 she was made an honorary Fellow of the South African Library Association (South African Institute for Library and Information Science); in 1962, when the Grahamstown Municipality celebrated its centenary, she became the first person to receive the Freedom of the City; and in 1963 she became the first recipient of the R.W. Bowen Medal for lifelong and meritorious service to the blind of South Africa, awarded by the SANCB. After her death in 1966 a commemorative plaque was unveiled in the library, and on 11 November 1966 J.M. Hyslop, then vice-chancellor of Rhodes University, opened the Josie Wood Wing in the South African Library for the Blind.

Wood never married. She died in Grahamstown where she had spent most of her life.

Master of the Supreme Court, Grahamstown: Estate no. 750/65; — *Honoris causa*: J.E.

Wood, Rhodes University, 1952; — Obituaries: *The Daily Dispatch*, 5 April 1965; *Eastern Province Herald*, 5 April 1965; *Grocott's Mail*, 6 April 1965; — Tribute: A half century of service to the blind. *Imfama*, 5(5), May 1965; The close of a chapter: Josephine Ethel Wood, 1874–1965. *Imfama*, 5(6), June 1965; — T. NEVILLE, New wing at Braille library will honour spirit of Josie Wood. *The Daily Dispatch*, 28 January 1966; — V.H. VAUGHAN, *Fifty years of service, 1929–1979: the story of the South African National Council for the Blind*. Pretoria, 1979; — P.J.A. DE VILLIERS, *The South African Library of the Blind: a diamond jubilee*. *Cape librarian*, October 1979.

X-Y-Z

ZIBI, Shadrack Fuba (*Ngwazi, Middledrift district (between King William's Town and Alice), 20 August 1879—†Kaya Khulu, Pilansberg area, Rustenburg district, 26 July 1963), chief of the Mbuto (Mbuthweni) section of the Hlubi group of tribes, was the son of Fuba III and the grandson of Zibi II. He was educated at Lovedale Institution at Alice in the Eastern Cape which he later joined as teacher, choir conductor and interpreter. He remained there for fourteen years. In 1912 he conducted the Lovedale and St Matthew's College Male Voice Choir at the first Missionary Conference in Cape Town.



Upon Zibi's father's death in 1890 the community came to be ruled by a regent—Zibi's guardian Khetho Wuso. In 1913 Zibi was requested to return to Ngwazi to take up the chieftainship (after the custom that required of him to have married and fathered his first child). He was formally installed as chief in the same year. In 1915, during the First World War (1914–1918), he recruited 60 men from among his followers whom he escorted to Upington to assist the South African Defence Force during the campaign in German South West Africa (Namibia).

In 1922 Zibi met a white ex-soldier who informed him of the availability of land in the Western Transvaal. Due to congestion in Middledrift district Zibi decided to move his people to the Transvaal. In October 1923 he was granted permission to proceed to the Rustenburg district to acquire land. He purchased half of the farm Rhenosterboom for £1 755 and agreed to rent the other half for £100 a year. With approximately 400 families he arrived on the farm on 20 September 1924, a day celebrated annually by his people ever since. He named his village Kaya Khulu (Great Hut or Home).

Due to insufficient funds Zibi initiated the Rustenburg Farm Scheme, offering shares in the farm for £50 per person. However, the scheme was opposed by the government on the grounds that no personal title to the land could be issued. Eventually, in 1927, the farm was registered in the name of the secretary of Native Affairs in trust for Zibi and his followers. In 1928 another group of 200 Hlubi families from the Mount Frere district under headman Israel Zibi joined those settled at Kaya Khulu. In 1931 Zibi acquired another farm, Rampapaanspoort. The community, however, also used land,

such as Miersrust, that connected the two farms belonging to the tribe, for grazing.

When Zibi moved to Kaya Khulu, he had lost his title as chief and became a headman. In 1941 his position as headman changed when he was officially appointed as chief with civil and criminal jurisdiction over the community. Some of his councillors apparently opposed this and Zibi was forced to depose them. After the passage of the Bantu Authorities Act in 1951 he was one of the first local officials appointed in the Western Transvaal when his tribe was proclaimed and recognized as the AmaHlubi Tribal Authority on 19 June 1953.

Although politically never very active, Zibi attended several conferences, such as the Governor-General's Native Conference of 1923, 1925 and 1927. At these conferences he expressed opinions on the land issue and questioned the lack of freedom for Africans. He expressed reservations about the restrictions placed on Africans which prevented them from owning the land they occupied. It was especially at the Dutch Reformed Church Conference of 1923 that he attacked the Natives Land Act of 1913 and its effect on the pride and self-respect of Africans. He warned that the Natives (Urban Areas) Act no. 21 of 1923 would cause even greater problems for urban Africans as it would deprive them of the right to live in the city. At the Non-European Conference of June 1927 Zibi was evidently accused of being a government nominee to conferences and that he did not have the right to speak for his followers. In reaction he stated that he was appointed constitutionally by the chiefs of the Rustenburg district to represent their interests.

Zibi took a strong interest in public affairs and was known for his gifts as writer. As freelance journalist he contributed many articles to both white and African newspapers—some under a *nom de plume*. He promoted the Wayfarers and Pathfinders youth organizations in the district and started the Kaya Khulu Primary School where his wife Maud became the first principal. The Shadrack F. Zibi Secondary School at Kaya Khulu was established in his honour in 1974.

He was married to Maud Nomtshato (Mam)Jwara, a trained teacher. They had one daughter and four sons.

Central Archives, Pretoria: NTS and URU collections; — R.H.W. SHEPHERD, *Lovedale, South Africa: the story of a century, 1841-1941*. Lovedale, [1940]; — P.-L. BREUTZ, *The tribes of the Rustenburg and Pilansberg districts*. Pretoria, 1953. (Department of Native Affairs. Ethnological publications, no. 28); — T.D.M. SKOTA (ed.), *The African who's who: an illustrated classified register and national biographical dictionary of the Africans in the Transvaal*. 3rd ed., rev. & enl. [Johannesburg, 1965]; — T. KARIS & G.M. CARTER (eds), *From protest to hope, 1882-1934*. Stanford, 1972; — T. KARIS & G.M. CARTER (eds), *From protest to challenge: a documentary history of African politics in South Africa, 1882-1964*. 4. *Political profiles, 1882-1964*. Stanford, 1977; — P.-L. BREUTZ, *A history of the Batswana and origin of Bophuthatswana*. Ramsgate, 1989; — Private information: Residents in Mabes Kraal district, Bophuthatswana (North-West Province); Mrs Zibi (nursing sister), Kaya Khulu Clinic, Kaya Khulu, Bophuthatswana (North-West Province).

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The *New Dictionary of South African Biography* is a companion volume to the successful five-volume series entitled *Dictionary of South African Biography*. It soon became apparent that the entries in the latter series were neither comprehensive nor exhaustive and plans were made to publish a follow-up series that would focus on those men and women whose contribution to South African history had either only recently been discovered or overlooked in the past. It took five years of painstaking research to trace these names - mainly because existing records were inadequate and very often biographical details had to be supplied by family members and close friends who were not always easy to locate.

This volume of 129 entries aims to fill the gaps in our history, highlighting in particular the significant roles played by black leaders from all walks of life, and the many women who dared to challenge the *status quo*. These men and women are drawn from many different fields, ranging from politics and education to music and social work. Their unique contributions have shaped our history and society in important ways. For this reason the *New Dictionary of South African Biography* is not only a valuable reference work but is also likely to be a source of inspiration to all who read it.



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